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**The Backward Glance:  
Concepts of 'Outside' and 'Other'  
in the Japanese Spatial Imaginary  
between 1673 and 1704**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2015

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All mistakes and inaccuracies remain mine.

## Abstract

This study is chronologically focused on the late seventeenth century, which I consider to have been a time of rapid changes in the spatial experience, and focuses on the impact of representations on the changing spatial imaginary of the period. My investigation shows the degree to which the cultural identity of urban publics depended on references to peripheral spaces and identities.

In order to reconstruct the vernacular experience of space, I consider a wide range of sources: besides prints (which do, however, make up the majority) and paintings, I discuss maps, encyclopaedias and three-dimensional objects such as decorative stands and mechanical dolls. I especially focus on changes in media formats from paintings to prints, and in narrative genres from *otogi zōshi* ('companion tales') to *ukiyo zōshi* ('floating world tales').

My study shows that the above sources structured the social imaginary of the urban population along five characteristics: geography (defining 'home' against 'foreign' territories), narrative (adapting mythical patterns to contemporary scenarios), gender (featuring predominantly male-authored constructions of femininity), pleasure (visualizing an emerging libidinal economy) and performance (mediating experiences of encounter). While these characteristics often mingled, for the purpose of the discussion I assigned a chapter to each one.

Within the wide sphere of vernacular production, the spatial imaginary was manifested through a complex interaction of fragmentary and often contradictory views. This was often related to forms of symbolic inversion configuring what is generally known now, and at the time, as the 'floating world.' They amount to a semiotic fluidity which I interpret as symptomatic of a changing paradigm of the spatial imaginary.

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## Introduction: Reimagining the Late Seventeenth Century

The late seventeenth century, by which I mean the Enpō, Tenna, Jōkyō and Genroku eras (1673-1704), is a pivotal and dynamic period that, it can be argued, established the parameters of subsequent Edo period culture. This period witnessed an administrative appropriation of the Japanese archipelago, the development of trade and consumption which led to a wealthy urban class, a publishing boom<sup>1</sup> and the popularity of aesthetic associational activities.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the experience of space underwent dramatic changes: very few Japanese traders travelled abroad, while foreigner presence was restricted to Nagasaki and processions to and from the city of Edo.<sup>3</sup> Concomitantly, there was a rise in domestic travel<sup>4</sup> and, in the case of Edo, urban reorganization and material reconstruction followed the major fire of 1657.<sup>5</sup> This assembly of factors provided an unusual situation in which the popularization of spatial information in the urban environment coincided with the reduction of possibilities of contact with foreignness. On these premises, the urban audience's perception of the world outside the Japanese archipelago would have been predominantly shaped not by direct experience, but by material representations of foreignness.

However, no study so far has analysed the impact of these representations on the experience of urban space. The main interest of this study is an art historical one: interpreting the mediating nature of representations. My original contribution to knowledge is the analysis of a complex phenomenon: physical interaction with urban space became increasingly doubled and shaped by representations of that space, which included tropes of foreignness. This was not unprecedented, but the variety of the audience as well as of the available formats was. More specifically, representations of foreignness came to play a major role in the experience of urban space. I call this complex experience of space the 'spatial imaginary.' This term is based on the trialectics of perceived, conceived and lived space as theorized by Lefebvre.<sup>6</sup> Conceived space, referring to utopic abstract projections, is the easiest to document through textual records, but

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<sup>1</sup> This period saw the sharpest increase in the number of publishing houses - Ikegami 2005 p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Ikegami 2005 p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Toby 1977, 1986.

<sup>4</sup> The latter phenomenon has been explored in Vaporis 1994, Nenzi 2008.

<sup>5</sup> McClain 1994.

<sup>6</sup> Lefebvre 1991 p. 40.

its impact is difficult to ascertain when considering other types of sources. My specific concern for this study was how to contextualize and establish what the seventeenth-century audience meant by terms such as ‘foreign land’, ‘China’, or various imaginary islands. On the other hand, perceived space is similar to the idea of social practice and is the object of phenomenological inquiry, is. For this study, the specific issue was to understand precisely how references to foreignness were integrated in social events and identities, therefore recovering elements of the seventeenth-century habitus.

The emphasis of this study, however, is on lived space, or the space of representations, meaning the mental constructs with which people operate in their lived environment. Although this is the most ephemeral and non-quantifiable variety of space theorized by Lefebvre, this study concerns itself with representations of lived space, which represent specific combinations between mental concepts and social contexts. I consider the representations analysed in this study as mediators between abstract concepts and everyday experience. This is the reason for focusing on representations of lived space as encompassing elements from the other two kinds of spaces as well, and therefore constituting richer documents of the cultural dynamics of the period. Specifically, my concern is with the materiality of formats and tropes, and their situatedness in a non-hierarchical cultural context.

A short summary of the genealogy of this research project will serve to clarify its characteristics and present outlook. Initial elements were developed for my undergraduate thesis, which analysed the image of the Daoist island-paradise of Mount Penglai (蓬莱 jp. Hōrai)<sup>7</sup> in texts and illustrations of the seventeenth century, focusing on the *otogi zōshi* (‘companion tale’) *Hōrai Monogatari* (蓬莱物語 ‘Tales of Penglai’). I noticed variations among illustrations to different manuscript and printed versions, and discussed them in terms of an evolving concept of mount Penglai in the culture of the period. Some of the illustrations were barely recognizable as Mount Penglai, and more akin to a female-only paradise. This led me to the Island of Women, which uncovered a web of narrative, poetic, cartographic and even commercial and political connotations, explored in my master’s thesis. While this was fascinating in its own right, I could not ignore the fact that this theme was not a major concern in the period. Nevertheless, I realised that the emerging fascination with the prostitution quarters included iconographical elements similar to that of imaginary islands. This allowed me

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<sup>7</sup> For details see chapter 5.1.3.

to explore, if not a direct connection, a parallel iconographic structure. Putting these studies together, one could begin to see the outlines of a cultural system, clustered around the theme of the spatial imaginary. This wider perspective also led me to consider conceptual issues regarding the nature of representations and their shifting significance in the period, the discussion of which is concentrated in the last chapter of this dissertation.

This study asks how the materiality of representations shaped the spatial imaginary of the late seventeenth century. To explore this question, I analyse sources that were once widely available, though have been largely neglected since, and which I assign as belonging to vernacular culture. In this I am inspired by Yonemoto's term 'spatial vernacular,' which refers to maps and travel accounts in which the meaning of space is negotiated by each agent that appropriates it.<sup>8</sup> The term 'vernacular culture' may be thought misleading when applied to the pre-modern period, but I refer only to non-elite local products which were available commercially on a mass scale in major urban centres. In order to reconstruct the vernacular experience of space, I consider a wider range of sources than conventional art history: besides prints (which do, however, make up the majority) and paintings, I discuss maps, encyclopaedias and three-dimensional objects such as decorative stands and mechanical dolls. I especially focus on changes in media formats from paintings to prints in the *ukiyo-e* ('floating world picture') genre, and in narrative genres from *otogi zōshi* ('companion tales') to *ukiyo zōshi* ('floating world tales'). One of the aims is to reconsider the posterior classifications of these sources into genres. I do this directly for the *ukiyo-e* genre. As for literary classifications, I use them warily, but since this is not a thesis in the history of literature, I do not challenge them directly.

The first set of primary sources are woodblock-printed maps of the Japanese archipelago, with a focus on the production of Ishikawa Ryūsen. Although the research potential of cartographic productions has been harnessed before,<sup>9</sup> I investigate their unexplored impact on vernacular representations (textual and visual) of urban spaces.

The second set comes from the work of Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), a successful poet and narrative author from Osaka, and his poetic circle. Although Saikaku's literary work has received considerable attention, my research also includes his under-researched poetic and visual production (printed book illustrations and painted scrolls). Saikaku's work is not exceptional, as there were other cultural producers in the period publishing works on similar

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<sup>8</sup> Yonemoto 2000, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Yonemoto 1999, 2000, 2003, Traganou 2004.

themes.<sup>10</sup> However, the extent of Saikaku's work provides a significant sample of the range of contemporary knowledge. Saikaku's work also exemplifies various modalities of using cartographic and mythical tropes to construct eccentric identities. This latter term is informed by Ikegami's concept of 'enclave identities,' which refers to social profiles alternative to formal allocations of status, and developed within various artistic circles.<sup>11</sup> However, while my enquiry is informed by social studies such as the work of Ikegami, its focus is primarily with the nature and role of representations.

The third set is formed by the work of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694), a prolific visual artist active in Edo from the 1670s to the 1690s. In contrast to previous studies of Moronobu as the founder of a subsequent *ukiyo-e* genre, this study reconsiders his work within its contemporary context. My research reveals a fresh image of Moronobu as primarily a painter inheriting previous conventions, while at the same time experimenting with formats in the new visual medium of print. Moronobu configured a representational space for the prostitution quarter of Yoshiwara by developing a coherent iconography disseminated through a variety of formats: illustrated scrolls, folding screens, picture books and hand-coloured single-sheet prints. The 'Backward Glance' in the title refers to one of the prostitute poses widely disseminated by Moronobu's iconography. It represents an active involvement with space which characterizes all representations discussed in this study.

This study's selection of certain works and named producers does not claim a privileged role for them in the vernacular culture of the time. For example, although I focus on certain imaginary territories on maps, their practicality was equally important and featured visually. Saikaku, Moronobu and Ryūsen were not the only producers of fiction or images in the period: Ochikochi Dōin, Fujimoto Kizan, Yoshida Hanbei would make equally relevant study cases. My selection is premised on the judgments of modern scholarship which has identified Saikaku, Moronobu and Ryūsen as representative for histories of literature, art and cartography. The limitations of a doctoral thesis prevent me from challenging these judgments, and it remains a task for future research.

The specific theme pursued within the chosen sets of primary sources is a section of the spatial imaginary formed of representations of the periphery along two vectors: foreignness

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<sup>10</sup> An example would be Fujimoto Kizan, the author of the 1678 erotic encyclopaedia *Shikidō ōkagami* (色道大鏡 'The Great Mirror of the Art of Love') and also a *haikai* practitioner – see Fujimoto 2006 and Keene 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Ikegami 2005.

and urbanity. This study does not therefore cover representations of regional spaces, which have been studied elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> Both foreignness and urbanity encompass the dual dimension of the periphery: spatial and ontological, which are designated in the title by the terms 'outside and the Other'.<sup>13</sup> My investigation shows the degree to which the cultural identity of urban publics depended on references to peripheral spaces and identities.<sup>14</sup> Social interaction between strangers was mediated by representations of the spatial periphery which qualitatively transformed spaces of encounter into their mythical archetypes. Taken further, this implied the transformation of the identity of the participants. This modification of mechanisms of identity represents the stage of maximum social permeation of the spatial imaginary. The chapters are thus structured along increasingly deeper stages of permeation, in accordance with a contemporary trend: the geopolitical situation of the Tokugawa regime, mentioned in the first paragraph, was accompanied by a shift from a preoccupation with foreign territories to an interest in eccentric identities. Metonymies of foreign spaces and identities began to be used reflectively to comment on peripheral spaces and identities within the urban space. In other words, the spatial imaginary was increasingly overlapped with explorations of eccentric identities, setting the parameters for similar subsequent processes throughout the Edo period.

The imaginary is an abstract term that did not exist in the discourse of the period, but is rather a forensic tool which helps me dissect the body of sources from that period. I employ it as an umbrella term with reference to a variety of dimensions: national, ethnic, gendered, ontological. The spatial imaginary thus includes mental concepts about home and foreign territories, about everyday space and otherworlds, and their associated identities and behaviours. Central to the polysemy of this term is the idea that the material experience of physical space and the mental concept of space are intimately related.

It might seem counterintuitive to equate the experience of space with the imaginary. However, I argue that the imaginary related to space and sociality was indistinguishable from the materiality of the objects that expressed it. My claim is that representations had a much

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<sup>12</sup> Wigen 1995, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> This twofold investigation is equally informed by studies of structural anthropology by Japanese researchers, such as Yamaguchi's discussion of the centre's dependence upon the legitimizing role of the periphery (Yamaguchi 1975), and studies of mechanisms of constructing alterity (Akasaka 1992, Komatsu 1995, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> See Amino 2012 for a similar approach to medieval sources.

stronger agency in mediating between the imaginary and social practice than has been recognized until now.<sup>15</sup> My view is that every form of representation is the product of a performance, occurring within a social context and based on physical interaction. I am corroborating iconographic analysis with a phenomenological approach. In other words, besides the content of the images, I am interested in what they did.<sup>16</sup> I use vernacular sources to reconstruct not only a documentary record, but a specific experience of space.

The above has sought to delineate my use of the term imaginary and the rationale for restricting my study to this period. I must make clear that this does not aim to be a complete history of late seventeenth century Japan or its vernacular culture. The study addresses a particular set of questions which concern the nature and the very definition of the imaginary. The initial questions can now be refined as: what was the relationship between late seventeenth century urban vernacular culture and its spatial imaginary? How were the concepts of centre and periphery configured by processes of representation? And how was the spatial imaginary integrated into the construction of eccentric identities?

My study shows that the above sources structured the social imaginary of the urban population along five characteristics: geography (defining 'home' against 'foreign' territories), narrative (adapting mythical patterns to contemporary scenarios), gender (featuring predominantly male-authored constructions of femininity), pleasure (visualizing an emerging libidinal economy) and performance (mediating experiences of encounter). While these characteristics often mingled, for the purpose of the discussion I assigned a chapter to each one.

In the first chapter, Cartographic Frames, I follow the relationship between centre and periphery in woodblock-printed maps of Japan which referred to earlier cartographic templates. I examine how foreign territories, including imaginary spaces such as the Island of Demons, became framing devices for an emerging geographical identity of the 'home territory'.<sup>17</sup>

In the second chapter, The Wide World, I discuss the mechanisms by which references to

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<sup>15</sup> My use of the term 'agency' draws on the study of the social role of objects in Gell 1998.

<sup>16</sup> See the analysis of the 'obtuse meaning' of images in Barthes 1977.

<sup>17</sup> I use this term as an antonym to 'foreignness' to refer to the Japanese archipelago and the cultural entity commonly referred to as *Nihon* 日本 or *Honchō* 本朝 during the period. I avoid the use of the term 'Japan' because it carries associations with the modern nation-state and is anachronistic in relationship to the pre-modern period – see Toby 1994 note 14. For a deconstructivist study of the term 'Japan' see Amino 2012.



foreignness, such as 'the wide world,' 'islands' or fantastic foreign countries, were then featured in literary texts and encyclopaedic works to describe eccentric identities. The availability of printed cartographic materials provided the impetus for textual and visual tropes of the geographic imaginary to be playfully re-employed in a commercial and erotic context within the new genre of 'floating world tales.' For example, the ambitious spirit of a merchant was compared to a ship sailing out all the way to China, while medieval stories about travels to the 'Island of Women' were eroticized.

Another characteristic of the spatial imaginary was gender construction. Late seventeenth century representations featured a complex configuration of gender, since male producers<sup>18</sup> had to cater both to a male and to an increasing female audience. The inherited spatial structure of the central male subject and the peripheral female object was thus negotiated and even challenged in this period. The third chapter, *Islands of Women*, analyses how the liminality of the category of the feminine was conflated with tropes of spatial periphery. I focus on a case study: visual representations of the 'Island of Women,' a space defined by a model of femininity which blended demonic, paradisaical and erotic characteristics. I follow the conflation of the 'Island of Women' with other foreign spaces. This occurs, for example, in seventeenth century versions of the 'companion tale' 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands,' as well as in Ihara Saikaku's pioneering 'floating world tale' 'The Life of an Amorous Man.' By investigating the spatial mechanisms of male fantasies about women, this chapter enables a reconsideration of gender roles in this period.

In the fourth chapter, *Gabled Windows*, I argue that the attributes of foreign territories informed the configuration of the periphery at the urban level. Visual tropes of foreignness were adapted to new spaces of alterity, the licensed prostitution quarters, placed at the periphery of major cities. My discussion focuses on iconographical elements such as the gabled window in Moronobu's representations of Yoshiwara. This serves as an illustration of the wide range of experiments undertaken in the visual production of the period, that explored framing devices to delimitate a space of feminine beauty disconnected from ordinary existence. I interpret this iconographic proliferation as indicating the significant role played by peripheral spaces in the emerging geography of the city of Edo. My analysis then considers another dimension of this production: the spatial liminality of licensed prostitution quarters was

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<sup>18</sup> With exceptions such as the female 'companion tale' producer Isome Tsuna, who catered to a female audience – see Ishikawa 2009 chapter 1.

echoed by the ontological liminality of their feminine inhabitants. They were depicted with spatially ambiguous tropes such as twisting poses, which hinted at their ontological ambivalence: both alluring and dangerous. These depictions aestheticized and tamed a mythical Other in order to offer an updated version of alterity for a commercial context.

The meaning of peripheral spaces and identities in this period was thus in the process of negotiation. In the final chapter, Embodiment, I show that this phenomenon was not restricted to places of escape such as prostitution quarters. For a large part of the population, the encounter with another world happened periodically. On New Year's Day, weddings or other auspicious occasions, a decorative representation of Mount Penglai was displayed in a domestic setting, where it functioned as a relay tapping into the auspicious energy of the otherworld.<sup>19</sup> Urban dwellers would also masquerade as foreigners, lucky gods or characters from popular stories. This carnivalesque was therefore a part of a process of constructing the identity of the urban middle class by celebrating their liminal status. I interpret these examples in terms of an embodiment of an Other who is often connected to ideas of foreignness. I discuss the example of Ihara Saikaku, who exemplifies the connection between authorship and technologies of the self: Saikaku adopted the eccentric identity of an auspicious crane circling Mount Penglai both in a poetic and conjugal context. I argue that this illustrates a late seventeenth century shift in the spatial imaginary: from narratives of going there and encountering the Other, to a temporary transformation of mundane settings into an otherworld in which the participants embody the Other.

To sum up, this study is chronologically focused on the late seventeenth century, which I consider to have been a time of rapid changes in the spatial experience, and focuses on the impact of representations on the changing spatial imaginary of the period, especially as regards the relationship between foreignness and urban space. My research field has primarily been not formal, educational or official materials, but these writings and images from outside official discourse, often termed escapist. Some studies might interpret these strategies as forms of political protest. While references to the periphery did sometimes entail a subversive reworking of the authorities' spatial conception, my conclusions are more conservative in pointing to elements of entertainment and playfulness which are not always

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<sup>19</sup> I use the term 'otherworld' throughout the thesis as a rendering of the terms *ikyo* and *ikai*, used in Japanese scholarship to refer to dimensions of existence outside everyday experience. See Komatsu 2002, 2003 pp. 10-15, Akasaka 1992.

politically engaged. Within the sphere of vernacular production, the spatial imaginary was manifested through a complex interaction of fragmentary and often contradictory views. This was often related to forms of symbolic inversion configuring what is generally known now, and at the time, as the 'floating world.'<sup>20</sup> Many examples exhibit what have been called 'moments of collision' between new and old discourses.<sup>21</sup> These moments of collision are manifested as instances of representational excess, such as double labels on foreign territories in maps. I regard the late seventeenth century changes that this thesis discusses as being well-understood in terms of such collisions. They amount to a semiotic fluidity which I interpret as symptomatic of a changing paradigm of the spatial imaginary.

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<sup>20</sup> Johnson 2001, Hirano 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Winichakul 1994 p. 18.

## Chapter 1. Mapping the Home Territory

### Introduction

This chapter considers the significance of the vernacular production of maps of the home territory in seventeenth-century urban centres. I focus on a representative example: Ishikawa Ryūsen's 1687 *Honchō zukan kōmoku* (本朝図鑑綱目 'Outline Map of Our Realm') (fig. 1). It is a large woodblock-printed map, with bright hand-painted colours contrasting the provinces of the archipelago. Its multiple reprints attest to a constant popularity and wide dissemination, making it perhaps the most recognizable visualization of the 'home territory' among the general population in the Edo period.<sup>22</sup> However, it has been discredited in the history of cartography for its lack of accuracy in comparison to the work of later cartographers. This was based on the idea that Ryūsen's map reflected a popular world view, suffused with fantastical elements. However, in this chapter I propose a revaluation of the significance of such late seventeenth century woodblock-printed maps.<sup>23</sup> The question addressed is: What was the status of the spatial imaginary in representations of geographical space? In order to answer this question I make two propositions: first, although the spatial imaginary was most visible in vernacular culture, it had close correspondences to elite discourse of the period. And second, there was a far-reaching significance to the inclusion of the most obviously fantastical element: the territory to the south of the archipelago doubly named 'The Land of Demons' and the 'Island of Women.' Besides maps, I draw on a variety of additional sources such as diplomatic documents and journals. This allows me to reconstruct the larger significance of these woodblock-printed maps, which emerge as active participants in the 'spatial vernacular' of the culture of the period.<sup>24</sup>

### 1.1. Framing the home territory

Ryūsen's map has a specific visual structure: the main islands of the Japanese archipelago are framed with colophons and outlines of territories, real or imaginary, jutting out of the map's frame, the most intriguing being the fantastical *Rasetsukoku* (羅刹国 'Land of Demons')

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<sup>22</sup> Yonemoto 2000 p. 649.

<sup>23</sup> This enquiry is informed by Harley and Laxton 2001.

<sup>24</sup> See Yonemoto 2000, 2003. Many of the points I cover in this chapter have been discussed in Potter 2007. My discussion is distinct from Potter's because of my focus on the artistic significance of cartographic representations within the context of late seventeenth-century vernacular culture.

(fig. 2). These marginal territories are symmetrically placed along the four prominently marked cardinal directions. They are paratexts<sup>25</sup> without a practical use: in contrast to the main islands, with their dense web of practical information and conspicuous network of roads,<sup>26</sup> they are literally blank outlines. Visually, they perform two functions: firstly, they provide visual balance and stability to the central archipelago. For example, without the inclusion of the southern territory, the central archipelago would seem suspended and in danger of spilling towards the lower edge of the map. Secondly, the blank marginal outlines direct the gaze towards the information-laden home territory. The balanced visual structure of this map is an example of a successful design, which helps to explain its enduring popularity.<sup>27</sup> However, I argue that the map's success was due not only to its effective visual structure, but even more so to its articulation of a convincing spatial imaginary, in which the fantastical 'Land of Demons' played a significant role. More specifically, the inclusion of a frame of marginal territories and the emphasis on the four cardinal directions is characteristic of a seventeenth-century cartographic corpus which resonated with an earlier tradition of defining the home territory in terms of a sacred geography.

Until the seventeenth century, the home territory had been defined as ritually pure in contrast to impure framing territories corresponding to the four directions.<sup>28</sup> In ceremonies such as the one in the Tsuina festival outlined in the ninth century legal code *Engishiki* (延喜式 'Regulations of the Engi Era'), 'impure demons' were expelled to the four corners of the land, which defined a purified central home territory.<sup>29</sup> In the medieval period, the home territory was then visualized in Buddhist circles as the rhomboidal shape of a ritual implement.<sup>30</sup> The impure territory often placed in the southern corner of the home territory was *Kikaigashima* (鬼界島 'Island of the Realm of Demons').<sup>31</sup> This is where the twelfth century monk Shunkan

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<sup>25</sup> I use this term in the sense theorised in Genette 1977.

<sup>26</sup> Yonemoto 2000 p. 657.

<sup>27</sup> This is not surprising considering that the author was the pupil of the *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu. Many of Moronobu's woodblock-printed works exhibit the same attention to framing devices, as discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>28</sup> Ōji 1996 pp. 60-62 citing the work of historian Murai Shōsuke.

<sup>29</sup> Unno 1994 p. 366.

<sup>30</sup> Dolce 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Although several theories exist as to its real location, in the medieval period *Kikaigashima* did not indicate a specific island, but was rather a generic name for the group of islands to the south of Kyushu. See Ōji 1996 pp. 63-64. However, an 'Island of Demons' is placed to the south of Kyushu on an alleged copy of an 805 original from Shimogamo Shrine in the capital, included in Fuji'i Sadamiki's 1798 *Shūko zu* (集古図 'Illustrations of Collected Antiques') (Unno 1994 p. 370 note 98). Though no earlier

was exiled after failing in a plot to overthrow Taira no Kiyomori. The political act of exile doubled as a purification ritual. Political enemies were thus assimilated with demons, the impure Other, and were assigned to a correspondingly impure marginal territory.

Enclosures keeping negative forces out of a hallowed space were common to medieval religious practice. For instance, a medieval legend related to the site of Nikkō tells of the *Rasetsukutsu* (羅刹屈 'Cave of Demons') from which 'a wind stirs up twice a year and brings harm upon the home land [jp. *Kokka*].' This occurrence gave the area its name of Nikkō 二荒, literally 'two storms.' In the year 820, the monk Kōbō Daishi [Kūkai] visited the site and pacified it by transliterating its name to mean 'the rays of the Sun' 日光.<sup>32</sup> The control of disturbing peripheric forces legitimized authority.

The same blend of political and ritual agency was at work in the earliest cartographic representations of the Japanese archipelago: the so-called Gyōki-type maps.<sup>33</sup> The oldest surviving example, held in the Ninna temple, has a December 1306 transcription date, which indicates its possible use in the Tsuina festival ceremony of demon-expulsion, held on the last day of the year.<sup>34</sup> In other words, Gyōki-type maps were probably used in rituals of purification of the home territory. This possibility is also suggested by the apotropaic resonances of the reptilian body wrapped around the home territory in another fourteenth century map of Japan (fig. 3).<sup>35</sup> This map is distinguished by a contrast between the non-distinct shape of marginal territories and the detailed shape of the Japanese archipelago.<sup>36</sup> Marginal territories formed a frame around the central body of the home territory, their blank outlines drawing the attention of the viewer towards the home territory. Most are identifiable territories with political importance at the time – most contemporarily urgent being *Mōko* (蒙古 'The Mongol Empire'),

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versions survive, this late copy indicates the strong possibility that 'The Island of Demons' was present on the earliest Gyōki-type maps.

<sup>32</sup> Komatsu and Kanzaki 1994 p. 135. The story first appeared in the thirteenth century *Nikkōsan takino'o konryū sōsō nikki* ('Journal of the establishment of the Takino'o shrine of Nikkō mountain'), reproduced in AISL 2008 and Hanawa 1983 vol. 28-1 no. 813. It is also mentioned in Yanagita Kunio's *Kami wo tasuketa hanashi* in Yanagita 1969 pp. 214-229.

<sup>33</sup> Their invention is among the technological innovations attributed to the eighth century priest Gyōki, but this is a later attribution. See Ōji 1996 p. 367 and Dolce 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Unno 1994 pp. 367-68 also discusses this possibility.

<sup>35</sup> Unno 1994 p. 370 and Arichi 2002 pp. 201-2 argue that this creature was a snake symbolizing a *kami* protecting the home territory.

<sup>36</sup> See Unno 1994 pp. 367-370, Kuroda 2003 p. 61.

which had attempted to conquer Japan on two occasions in the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Among them is the same ‘Land of Demons’ as on Ryūsen’s map. In light of the probable ritual function of these maps, marginal territories such as Rasetsukoku would have had the function of defining an impure space of alterity against the pure space of the home territory. What would now be called ‘fantastical spaces’ were, at the time, an integral part of cartographic practice.

## 1.2. Political frames

In the early seventeenth century, this dynamics of sacred geography was adapted by Tokugawa shoguns to the current East Asian diplomatic context. The centrality of the home territory was configured with reference to updated foreign territories. Central to this process were the embassies from the Korean and Ryukyuan kingdoms, which were staged by the shogunate as replicating the Chinese model of bringing tribute to the emperor.<sup>38</sup> Foreignness was enlisted as an auxiliary trope to the political rhetoric of centrality. This attitude was echoed in a 1689 letter by Hayashi Gahō, the son of Hayashi Razan and his successor as the chief shogunal advisor on Confucian matters: ‘our country is at peace, the waves of the ocean are gentle, and the winds of virtue blow broadly, summoning merchant ships to Nagasaki from Tang [China].’<sup>39</sup> Similar rhetorical tropes, until then employed only in reference to the emperor, were included in an inscription by the monk Tenkai on a portrait of Tokugawa Ieyasu painted by Kano Tan’yū around 1640: ‘protecting the entire heaven and the four seas.’<sup>40</sup> Central authority was therefore reinforced with references to the four directions of space. In fact, the monk Tenkai can be considered the main agent in the shogunate’s appropriation of the medieval spatial imaginary: he also included the legend about the ‘Cave of Demons’ in the text of a 1640 set of scrolls dedicated to Ieyasu’s mausoleum at Nikkō.<sup>41</sup> The pacification of the site was contiguous with the pacification of the entire country, which Ieyasu had achieved and was now safeguarding in his divine form.

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<sup>37</sup> Kuroda 2003 ch. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Toby 1986.

<sup>39</sup> Hayashi Gaho, 1689, ‘Go Tei ron,’ in Gaho sensei Hayashi gakushi bunshu, 122 kan in 51 satsu (1689, n.p.d.), 48. 22a. translated in Toby 1977 p. 355.

<sup>40</sup> The quoted portrait is the only one among the sixteen painted portraits of Tokugawa Ieyasu which features these terms – see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2007, Gerhart 2004 and Pitelka 2009. On the other hand, the quoted portrait is the only one with a frontal inscription.

<sup>41</sup> The scrolls are discussed extensively in Gerhart 1999 chapter 4. Tenkai reinterpreted Kōbō Daishi’s transcription of the toponym Nikkō to refer to Ieyasu’s divine identity as Tōshō Daigongen (東照大権現 ‘The Great Radiant Avatar of the East’).

Although most of the shogunal documents were drafted in practical terms, the above examples testify to the use of the dynamics of sacred geography within the elite discourse, which continues a medieval practice. Starting with the seventeenth century, the rhetoric of authority employed by the shogunate was gradually interpreted by the non-elite public as a rhetoric of home identity.<sup>42</sup> Ryūsen's map exemplifies how this process of vernacularization of elite discourse unfolded at the level of the spatial imaginary. However, the vision of a territory united under peaceful rule had reverberated into non-elite discourse earlier. This is shown by a section from the 1637 travelogue *Kaikoku michi no ki* (廻国道之記 'The Record of Travel through the Provinces') by the painter Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650):

I left the road to the horse, but came no less surely to Kameyama. Even in this area of many famous places, Kameyama is most auspicious. The turtle 亀 lives ten- thousand years. The present Lord of Japan 御主 is a Great Shōgun without equal in the past, and grateful are we (for his rule) generation upon generation. The Four Seas are all peacefully governed and 'the wind does not cause the branches to flutter nor does the rain move the lumps of earth.' For his compassion and his piety all his subjects respect him. Kikai Island 鬼界, Korean Kōma 高麗, Hakusaikoku 百濟国 (SW of Korea), India, and Chinese Cinasthana make offerings to him. Long life to the Shōgun 君.<sup>43</sup>

This eloquent sample of regurgitated propaganda testifies to the diffusion of the shogunate's rhetorical tropes, such as Lord of Japan, into the consciousness of the general population. Notice also the invocation of the tribute system, with the addition of a novel tributary: *Kikaigashima* ('Island of the Realm of Demons'). As mentioned above, Kikaigashima was a peripheral space with a long tradition. It functioned both as a place of exile and as a space of alterity marking the archipelago's southern border. The inclusion of Kikaigashima among other 'real' territories uncovers a spatial imaginary that conferred a degree of reality and political agency to what would now be called 'fantastical spaces.' At the same time, the inclusion of Kikaigashima expressed the necessity for a southern element in a protective ring of marginal territories framing the home territory in Matabei's spatial imaginary.

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<sup>42</sup> Jansen 1992 pp. 87: 'The elite had long been self-consciously Japanese ... but it was in the Tokugawa years that everybody else came aboard.'

<sup>43</sup> Kita 1997 p. 333 with characters from the original text, reproduced in Suzuki 1984 p. 36.



### 1.3. Seventeenth Century Maps

#### 1.3.1. Printed Maps before 1680s

The above examples demonstrate how the rhetoric of spatial centrality initially employed at the level of the elite reverberated and was creatively appropriated by a non-elite audience. But is a model of top-down transmission best suited to describe the dynamics of the spatial imaginary? Matabei is a complex and transitional figure, and a single example from his work cannot be considered representative of the entire range of vernacular cultural production. By contrast, cartographic sources enable a more substantial discussion of the relationship between elite and vernacular production in the decades leading up to the late seventeenth century. The model that I am proposing is non-hierarchical, and rather operates in terms of homologies between discourses at various levels.

Before discussing vernacular maps, it is important to acknowledge the Tokugawa regime's use of cartographic materials. Tokugawa rulers kept secret the maps resulting from detailed surveys of the unified territory (jp. *kuni ezu*), thus displaying a visual reticence consistent with an 'iconography of absence.'<sup>44</sup> Concomitantly, the elite maintained an interest in cartographic sources, continuing the practice of previous political rulers who had used maps extensively for the visualization of home territory in the context of diplomatic exchange, both internal and external.<sup>45</sup> While Tokugawa rulers discontinued the practice of associating themselves with the visualization of the home territory, they do not seem to have restricted the leaking of cartographical information from its surveys to privately printed commercial maps. Just like other seventeenth-century printed maps of Japan discussed below, Ryūsen's 1687 map was informed by cartographic data from the shogunal surveys.<sup>46</sup> However, as discussed above, its frame of marginal territories which include imaginary spaces was indebted to Gyōki-type maps

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<sup>44</sup> Screech 2011.

<sup>45</sup> Toyotomi Hideyoshi, for example, had surrounded himself with cartographical representations of the home territory on folding screens and fans to configure an utopian space of authority. See Akioka 1956. The hallowed vision of the territory of Japan framed by golden clouds in Jotoku-type maps on folding screens (Unno 1994 pp. 386-390, Akioka 1955 pls. 26, 33), the space of Hideyoshi's planned continental campaign illustrated on a fan (Nanba, Muroga and Unno 1970 plate 4, p. 176), the urban panoramas of folding screens with world maps appropriated from Christian propaganda, all attest to a strong visual component of late sixteenth century political discourse. The use of maps at the elite level continued in the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the globes given by the Dutch to the high-ranking official Inoue Masashige (Unno 1994 p. 391) and the continuous production of map screens into the late seventeenth century (Unno 1994 p. 377 note 129).

<sup>46</sup> Unno 1994 p. 411.

of Japan, and Ryūsen acknowledges this in his colophon. Therefore, rather than being shaped by elite discourse, the spatial imaginary manifest in vernacular productions was contiguous with the late medieval spatial imaginary.

Ryūsen was not the first seventeenth-century cartographer to acknowledge the influence of Gyōki-type maps: they had been expanding their audience since the late medieval period.<sup>47</sup> The beginning of this process is the inclusion of a Gyōki-type map in the encyclopaedia *Shūgaishō* (拾芥抄 'A Collection of Miscellanea'), initially compiled in the fourteenth century. Two codices from 1548 and 1589 include the Gyōki-type *Dainihonkoku no zu* (大日本国之図 'Map of the Great Country of the Rising Sun') in the extended description of the home territory.<sup>48</sup> The map is a simple diagram of main roads and cities, omitting the protective dragon or other fantastical elements. The same layout was featured in the first printed edition of 'A Collection of Miscellanea' from around 1607, and then in subsequent printed editions throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>49</sup> These reprints speak of both a renewed interest in and an expanding audience for visualizations of the home territory in the seventeenth century.

However, the map of Japan is not a prominent feature of 'A Collection of Miscellanea,' being only one among the illustrations in the text. The image that did inaugurate a boom in woodblock printed maps was the 1624 single-sheet print *Dainihonkoku jishin no zu* (大日本国地震之図 'Earthquake map of the Great Country of the Rising Sun') (fig. 4). It updates the format of the dragon surrounding the territory of Japan in figure 3 with earthquake predictions for the following year, inscribed between the dragon's fins. This 'cosmic fish' with the head of a dragon is pinned down by the sword of the god of Kashima to the Kaname Stone, thought to reach to the core of the earth, found within the precincts of Kashima shrine. This restricts the movement of the dragon which would otherwise cause earthquakes. Also included in the map is an apotropaic poem, as well as an array of marginal territories. This map is thus a visual assertion of a worldview similar to that expressed by Matabei in his travelogue a few years later. Here, the auspicious and protective figure is not a turtle but another sea creature: a dragon.

The 1624 map functioned in a specific context of earthquake prevention, but other examples are more generic, thus showing the gradual accommodation of the medieval cartographic

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<sup>47</sup> Unno 1994 p. 410 refers to this phenomenon as the "popularization" of cartography.

<sup>48</sup> Unno 1994 p. 369 note 95.

<sup>49</sup> Unno 1994 p. 369 note 96.

format to seventeenth century audiences. For example, the *Gyōki bosatsu setsu dainihonkoku no zu* (行基菩薩説大日本国図 ‘Map of the Great Country of the Rising Sun according the Bodhisattva Gyōki’), published in the 1630s, features for the first time the name of the burgeoning administrative centre of Edo.<sup>50</sup> The same cartographic format appears in the *Shinkai Nihon Ōezu* 新改日本大絵図 ‘Newly Revised Great Picture Map of the [Land of the] Rising Sun’) of 1662, which features cartographic details indicating an update of the Gyōki-type layout with information from the *kuni ezu* compiled by the shogunate (fig. 5).<sup>51</sup> This is a further proof of the aforementioned link between vernacular production and the elite discourse of spatial authority. Geographical information of elite origin was transposed onto a decorative, fanciful package. The title on the map itself is *Fusōkoku no zu* (扶桑国之図 ‘Map of the Land of the Mulberry Tree’), the name of a Chinese Daoist island (ch. *Fusang*) which was later adopted as a mythical name for Japan.<sup>52</sup> The home territory is here identified with an utopian island, in a dynamic process of myth-making.<sup>53</sup> This element of myth is celebratory and auspicious in the same way as the earthquake map.<sup>54</sup> Instead of being placed in the frame of peripheral territories, the imaginary space of the ‘Land of the Mulberry Tree’ is now brought centre stage to add rhetorical flourish to an old format. This mythicizing process amounts to a creative appropriation of an elite rhetoric of home identity for a wide audience. In this sense, it exemplifies what has been called the ‘fetishistic power’ of the map, which ‘comes from the conjunction with other totems, especially indigenous or traditional ones.’<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For a study of this map, see Aoyama 2000.

<sup>51</sup> Unno p. 411, Nanba, Muroga and Unno 1970 plate 26 p. 180.

<sup>52</sup> For a translation and discussion of Chinese historical sources concerning Fusang see Williams 1885. Fusang appears alongside other fantastical islands to the east of the Japanese archipelago on sixteenth century Korean maps (Robinson 2010 pp. 101-2, 111-2). An early example of Japanese self-identification with Fusang is the title of the twelfth century historical record *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記 ‘Abbreviated History of Japan’). However, the association was never fully established, as shown by the statement that Fusang is different from Japan in the entry on Fusang in volume 14 of the 1712 *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才図会 ‘The Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Encyclopaedia of the Three Elements’) – Terashima 1980 p. 277.

<sup>53</sup> We can trace the reverberation of this process in later examples from Ihara Saikaku’s ‘merchant’ works, such as ‘Japan’s Treasury for the Ages,’ where Osaka, Saikaku’s home town, is proudly described the ‘first market of the Land of the mulberry Tree’ - Mori 2002 p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> Notice that the decorative frame is similar in the two maps, indicating the Earthquake map as a direct visual source for the ‘Map of the Land of the Mulberry Tree.’

<sup>55</sup> Winichakul 1994 p. 133.

### 1.3.2. Ryūsen's Role

In the colophon to his 1687 map of Japan, Ryūsen stated that the model was provided by the map of Japan drafted by monk Gyōki.<sup>56</sup> But his immediate source is much more likely to have been contemporary renditions of Gyōki-type maps, such as 'Map of the Land of the Mulberry Tree.' Ryūsen's map is significant because it stands at the end of a process of accommodating medieval maps to seventeenth century audiences. Constant throughout the maps discussed above is the framing function of the foreign territories in relation to the home territory. The centralised world view already present in Gyōki-type maps was reasserted and recontextualized in seventeenth century popular maps. Ryūsen curtailed the range of surrounding islands and territories in earlier maps, and placed a selection symmetrically around the four prominently marked cardinal directions. This increased the visual coherence and iconic efficacy of the image, and reinforced the vision of a home territory at the centre of the world, controlling all of the four directions of space according to the 'Middle Kingdom consciousness.'<sup>57</sup>

But besides its efficacy, Ryūsen's visual solution was also an uneasy pairing of two types of spatial imaginary: the first was that of the central territory, configured by administrative semantics and the rhetoric of precision and accessibility. It was a familiar and controlled space. In contrast, the marginal territories inherited from Gyōki-type maps belonged to a semi-mythical space, in which the Ming empire still reigned and the 'Island of Demons' lay to the south of the home territory. This dual spatial signification signals a moment of collision enabling 'the coexistence of different concepts of space.'<sup>58</sup> The inherent tension between the two spatial imaginaries was momentarily resolved through a 'spatial vernacular' which amounted to a performative act seeking to synthesize otherwise disparate versions of the spatial imaginary.

Ishikawa Ryūsen employed similar framing devices in the large fold-out *Bankoku sōkai zu* (萬國総界圖 'Complete Map of the Myriad Realms and Lands') published the following year, 1688 (fig. 6). This was a rehash of the *Bankoku sōzu* (萬國総圖 'Complete Map of the Myriad Lands')

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<sup>56</sup> Unno 1994 p. 412.

<sup>57</sup> Yonemoto 1999 p. 180.

<sup>58</sup> Winichakul 1994 p. 33.

printed in Nagasaki in 1645 and then reprinted in 1671 (fig. 7).<sup>59</sup> The 1645/1671 map had been a diptych, with a map of the world on the right, and on the left with a set of forty-two cartouches with people of the world. The idea of representing a country by a couple of its inhabitants had been taken from European cartographic marginalia, but in the Japanese versions they were assembled as a separate group.<sup>60</sup> The visual format relied ‘on iconographic cues, as well as location in the tabular arrangement of information.’<sup>61</sup> It can therefore be considered an anthropological classification *avant la lettre*.<sup>62</sup>

Ryūsen chose not to reprint this section of the map. As discussed in the following chapter, this did not mean a reduction in interest in people of the world. Ryūsen was rather looking for a counterpart to his map of Japan which had proved such a profitable venture. In the 1688 world map, the Eurasian continent is imagined as an archipelago with rounded coves and connected with narrow channels. The home archipelago is still in the centre, neatly wrapped by surrounding territories, and the four directions are prominently marked. Visually, it is very similar to how the home territory is framed in Ryūsen’s 1687 map of Japan, only at a larger scale.

Practical information is present in the form of distances to various countries, while the colophone on the lower left claims higher accuracy than previous world maps. However, besides these practical issues, also present is an element of entertainment, not least through the exceptional use of the seal reading Ryūsen 流舟, meaning ‘drifting ship’ – the only instance I could find of this seal being used among Ryūsen’s maps. The two characters are phonetically identical to the customary characters used by the artist, 流宣, the latter character having been inherited from his master Hishikawa Moronobu. By using instead characters meaning ‘drifting ship,’ Ryūsen associates his artistic persona with one of the iconographical elements of the map. This suggests a performative aspect of this map: inviting the user to imaginative travel aboard a drifting ship.

The iconography of ships is an intriguing characteristic of this map. In the 1671 and the 1688 maps, the ships on the sides of the map project different versions of a home-foreign

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<sup>59</sup> The 1645 map was in its turn a cheap version of painted folding screens which had repackaged Western geographical information into Japanese status symbols.

<sup>60</sup> Mochizuki 2009.

<sup>61</sup> Toby 1998 p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> Toby describes it as ‘an ordering of knowledge of Other in sixteenth to eighteenth century discourse, a groping toward an “anthropology” of sorts’ Toby 1998 p. 23.

dichotomy. In the 1671 map, the home ship had been an unpretentious model designed for the nationwide distribution of cargo by coastal sailing (fig. 8). It featured the *mitsu dōgu* ('three weapons') at the stern, indicating that it is under the control of shogunal authority.<sup>63</sup> This had been in contrast to the ships of 'the Great Ming,' 'Holland' and 'The Southern Barbarians,' visualized as more sturdy ocean-going vessels. In the 1688 reprint, only two ships were depicted (fig. 9): the one on the left from 'the Great Qing' retains the characteristics of oceanic trade ships while updating the label from the 1671 'Great Ming' to the contemporarily accurate 'Great Qing.' On the other hand, the home ship was upgraded to an ocean-going vessel worthy of comparison with the ship of the Great Qing. The home ship was further endowed with a bowsprit in the form of a two-horned dragon-head, human figures with swords, a two-storey structure with roof details which recall castle turrets and upright halberds both at the bow and stern. These details amount to a martial appearance, which is made explicit by the inscription on the sail: *Bukō bune* (武功舟 'Battleworthy ship').

I propose an interpretation of this martial stance in connection to recent military actions of the Qing Empire. All throughout the 1670s, the evolution of the Revolt of the Three Feudatories had been closely followed by the shogunate through the establishment of a 'foreign intelligence system.'<sup>64</sup> The Qing forces finally overcame the Revolt in 1681, and then went on to take over of the last outpost of the Ming loyalists, the maritime trade centre of Taiwan, in 1683. These events had an immediate impact on the trade activity in Nagasaki: quotas were introduced for ships trading from China.<sup>65</sup> Underlying these measures was a concern over an invasion of Japan by the Qing empire. The Neo-Confucian scholar Kumazawa Banzan voiced these concerns in the 1687 memorandum *Daigaku wakumon* (大学或問 'Questions on The Great Learning'): 'There have been numerous examples of Northern Barbarians attacking Japan after they have taken China. Now they have already taken China.'<sup>66</sup> The iconography of the home ship in Ishikawa Ryūsen's 1688 world map can thus be interpreted as an expression of the same fear of invasion by the Qing Empire among the urban population which would constitute the

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<sup>63</sup> See note 283.

<sup>64</sup> Toby 1984 p. 165.

<sup>65</sup> As a result of the 1683 takeover of Taiwan, 'direct shipping from China to Nagasaki expanded enormously, dwarfing the proportion of junks from the south. This in turn alarmed the Tokugawa authorities, who imposed ever stricter quotas on the tosen after 1685. After the junks reached a disorderly peak of 192 vessels in 1688 the Japanese imposed a strict quota of only seventy Chinese vessels a year.' Ishi'i 1998 p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Translated from Kumazawa 1971 pp. 425-27 in Toby 1984 p. 167.

audience for such a printed map. The map's ship iconography can thus be thought of as projecting the image of a home territory ready for sea-battle against the forces of the Great Qing. Juxtaposing this with the buoyant persona of Ishikawa 'Drifting Ship' Ryūsen reveals a multi-faceted spatial representation which accommodated political and economic connotations within an entertaining visual package. This phenomenon is the subject of the next chapter.

## Conclusion

Woodblock-printed maps published throughout the seventeenth century reasserted the vision of an unified home territory already present on medieval maps. This vision was accompanied by the process of defining a collective self from a marginal Other. Marginal territories in vernacular maps provided an inventory for what the collective unconscious imagined itself not to be, coagulations of otherness expelled at the margins in the process of configuring a home identity.<sup>67</sup> By providing an increasingly accessible visualization of the home territory, these maps contributed towards the configuration of an 'imagined community,' to borrow Anderson's phrase,<sup>68</sup> that ran parallel to the official discourse of the shogunate.

An important theme of this chapter has been the similarity between elite and vernacular references to the home territory. This similarity was not coincidental: it indicated a structural property of the spatial imaginary of this period: its relationship to geographical space. This was not, however, geography defined by scientific accuracy. I have shown that seventeenth century sources, both elite and vernacular, inherited a sacred geography which had placed the home territory in the centre of the world. At the same time, these myths were updated to the political context of Tokugawa hegemony and an expanded audience. This update occurred through a process which Yonemoto has called 'the spatial vernacular' of the Edo period. What this means is that the mental conception of space was intimately linked to geographical space. In fact, the delimitation implied by my use of 'mental' and 'geographical' did not exist. The 'spatial vernacular' thus describes an important characteristic of the spatial imaginary: its shifting conflation of the space of experience and the space of representation, used to negotiate a centre a discourse. In the following chapter I will survey this 'spatial vernacular' among a different set of sources: illustrated printed books and poems.

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<sup>67</sup> Ward 2000 p. 140.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson 1991.

## Chapter 2. The Wide World: Playful Identities of the Periphery

### Introduction

My overall thesis concerns the role of representational spaces in the relationship between the periphery and urbanity in the vernacular culture of the late seventeenth century. In the previous chapter I discussed the proliferation of cartographic materials and their deployment in the configuration of a visual identity for the home territory. In this process, visual markers of periphery, such as marginal territories including the Island of Women, were used to frame a discursive centre. This chapter extends this enquiry by analysing vernacular adaptations of cartographic tropes to the urban periphery and its associated eccentric identities. This analysis advances the theory of the 'spatial vernacular' beyond previous studies, by exposing the permeation of the spatial imaginary within a range of artistic productions. The following questions are pursued: How was the spatial imaginary deployed in vernacular culture? How did representations of foreignness shape the urban public's concept of 'outside' and 'the other'? What role did foreignness play in eccentric identities?

As discussed in the previous chapter, elite discourse was predominantly expressed in articulate and emphatic official records, while the vernacular discourse was diffuse and allusive. The impact of these widely disseminated cartographic sources on the urban public's concept of periphery is difficult to assess since most of their consumers did not leave records. At best, a heterogeneous audience emerges.<sup>69</sup> However, from the 1660s onward, vernacular producers left creative testimonies of the impact of cartographic sources in literary and encyclopaedic works. I focus on the work of Ihara Saikaku, a leading poet of the Osaka *haikai* school in the 1670s, who then turned to prose writing in the 1680s. Although his prose works are fascinating, I emphasise Saikaku's active participation in the visual culture of the period through illustrations to printed works (both his own and those of acquaintances), as well as amateur paintings. The breadth of his sources and his sharp observations makes his work representative of the vernacular culture of late seventeenth century Japan. Examples from his work therefore inform the bulk of my argument.

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<sup>69</sup> 'the texts appeal ... to the general knowledge of a general readership.' Berry 2006 p. 218.



## 2.1. The Commercial World View

Late seventeenth century culture in the Japanese archipelago witnessed the emergence of an educated urban population which constituted the main audience for a plethora of published materials which constituted a 'library of public information.'<sup>70</sup> Many of these were woodblock printed versions of classic texts such as *Ise Monogatari* (伊勢物語 'The Tales of Ise') or adaptations of Chinese illustrated books. But contemporary texts were also produced domestically, catering to the specific tastes and interests of the emerging urban class. Many of these texts are now grouped under the token genre of *kana zōshi*, mostly comprised of vernacular tales with a moral message.<sup>71</sup> By the 1680s, however, this moral tone was no longer adequate to the increasing confidence of prosperous urbanites. At this point, Ihara Saikaku, a linked-verse poetic virtuoso from Osaka, started to publish a series of prose works mixing amorous and mercantile adventures, giving birth to a new literary genre, *ukiyo zōshi* ('floating world tales').<sup>72</sup> The genre is most often associated with its prominent erotic elements, but the overall rhetoric of 'floating world tales' is that of the worldly success of the predominantly male subject. What exactly did 'worldly' mean within this context? In other words, what were the dimensions of the geographical imaginary in floating world tales? I will focus my enquiry on the word *sekai* 世界. Just like in modern Japanese, this word had multiple meanings in the late seventeenth century. It was originally a Buddhist term translated from the Sanskrit term *lokadhatu* which designated the totality of existence in time and space. By the seventeenth century, its range paralleled that of the modern English term 'world': it could mean the space defined by human activity, or the familiar area of everyday activity such as in the English 'welcome to my world' In the context of 'floating world tales,' the notion of the 'world' (jp. *sekai*) was often associated with a commercial environment.<sup>73</sup> In Saikaku's 1688 'floating world tale' *Nihon eitai gura* (日本永代蔵 'Japan's Treasury for the Ages'), the wide world is the playground of the ambitions of the ideal merchant:

Thanks to ships – ships which skim across a hundred leagues of sea a day, a

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<sup>70</sup> Berry 2006 pp. 13-53.

<sup>71</sup> The validity of this genre, originating in twentieth century academic research, has been challenged in Moretti 2010.

<sup>72</sup> See Schabow's Introduction to Ihara 1990 p. 14 and Sargent's Introduction to Ihara 1959b p. xlvii.

<sup>73</sup> Mori 2002 pp. 12, 15.

thousand leagues in ten – all the world's ten thousand needs are met. A great merchant should model his mind on an ocean-going ship. The man whose life is bounded by the drainage channels round his house, who never risks the soaring leap from door to islands of treasure [jp. *takarashima*] overseas, will never tap his balance with a magic wishing mallet.<sup>74</sup> It is a pitiful thing to pass a lifetime going round and round the pans of the shop scales, and to know nothing of the wide world [jp. *hiroki sekai*] which lies beyond.<sup>75</sup>

The enterprising spirit of a great merchant is compared to a ship sailing all the way to *Morokoshi* ('China'). In other words, what is necessary to a 'great merchant' is an ambitious spirit corresponding in amplitude to the 'wide world'.<sup>76</sup> This is highly interesting in light of the fact that by the 1680s, possibilities for travel or trade overseas had been greatly reduced.<sup>77</sup> All external trade activity relied on the Tsushima domain's exchanges with Korea and the cargo brought in by Chinese and Dutch ships that were restricted to the port of Nagasaki. Despite these restrictions, direct maritime trade with China continued to be active in the spatial imaginary. In the example above, trade with China was included in the spatial rhetoric of commercial success: the space of intimate accomplishment blended with the space of the 'wide world' through their shared immensity.<sup>78</sup>

This intimate understanding of space envisions the world as not just a physical space-time exterior to our perception, but a space-time which is generated and put forth by our perception.<sup>79</sup> This parallels the medieval sacred geography which, as discussed in the previous chapter, was materialized on Gyōki-type maps. In this respect, it is worth pointing out the intriguing homology between the merchant's expansive spirit and the completion of a pattern of specific practices with intensity of faith, necessary for believers to reach Mount Fudaraku

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<sup>74</sup> In characteristic *haikai* fashion, the words 'ship' and 'treasure' suggest a 'treasure ship' (jp. *takarabune*), which further evokes the wish-fulfilling mallet carried by Daikoku, one of the Seven Lucky Gods on board the 'treasure ship.' See Ihara 1959 p. 199 note 4.

<sup>75</sup> Adapted from Ihara 1959 p. 85.

<sup>76</sup> See Mori 2001 p. 30.

<sup>77</sup> For overviews of trade relations during this period, see Toby 1984 and Tashiro and Downing Videen 1982. An exception was Waegwan, the trading quarter housing a community of 500 Japanese in the Choson port of Pusan, trading with Tsushima domain throughout the Edo period – see Lewis 2003.

<sup>78</sup> I am paraphrasing Bachelard 1994 p. 203.

<sup>79</sup> Mori 2001 pp. 30-31.

after sailing out from Kumano.<sup>80</sup> Although the sacred dimension of this geography of the spirit did not disappear,<sup>81</sup> by the 1680s it had lost precedence to a pragmatic, commercial context. In other words, the medieval goal of Buddhist salvation was superseded by the goal of worldly success. Notwithstanding, the geographical range of human aspiration was preserved.

The trope of ‘islands of treasure’ mentioned in the previous quote testifies to the resilience of the medieval geographical imaginary when foreign locations were evoked.<sup>82</sup> In other texts, this trope was employed with a more specific meaning. It referred to Nagasaki, the port town which functioned as a connecting node between the spaces of Japan and other lands.<sup>83</sup> For example, in Ihara Saikaku’s 1688 ‘floating world tale’ *Kōshoku seisuiki* (好色盛衰記 ‘Amorous Chronicles of Prosperity and Decadence’) we find the following clarification:

The so-called Island of Treasures is none other than Nagasaki. The great port with ships from overseas [jp. *tōjin fune*], mountains of brocade, waterfalls of white silk, log-driven exquisite scented trees, musk deer outnumbering our country’s civet cats, cloves thrown away like used tea leaves, gold and silver so easy to get [jp. *tsukamidorī*] that you can become a rich man over night.<sup>84</sup>

The term *tōjin fune* literally means ‘Chinamen ships,’ although the term would be applied to any foreign trade ship. The Dutch are not mentioned – it might have been too politically sensitive to mention the Dutch traders in Nagasaki. From another point of view, the Dutch could have been just another variety of the foreignness encompassed in the term *tōjin*.<sup>85</sup>

I believe the above description was less about factual accuracy and more about an

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<sup>80</sup> Kanno 2007 p. 5. For an extensive discussion of the Kumano religious phenomenon see Moerman 2005.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, Moerman forthcoming for a study of the continuing relevance of Buddhist world maps into the late nineteenth century.

<sup>82</sup> I follow Sargent’s interpretation in Ihara 1959b p. 199 note 2.

<sup>83</sup> Mori 2002 p. 12.

<sup>84</sup> 寶の嶋といふを何國かとおもへば長崎の事に極まれり唐人ふねの大湊にしきの山白糸の滝流れ木の伽羅を伊方笥に組じやかう犬は和朝の猫より見えわたり丁子は葉茶の煮がらのごとく捨ありきて金銀抓取りの所一夜に長者ともなりぬべし Ihara 1959a p. 77. Saikaku is the presumed author of this work, but researchers have yet to reach a consensus. See Wakaki 1995 p. 2. Translation of the title from Seigle 1993 p. 257.

<sup>85</sup> For discussions of the concept of *tōjin* in the early modern period, see Toby 1986, 1994, 1998, 2001 and Suzuki 2007. These models of the Other, the Chinese and the Dutch, were later personified as competing for the charms of a Nagasaki courtesan in Kanwatei Onitake’s 1803 *kibyōshi Wakanran zatsuwa*, discussed in Screech 2002 pp. 34-7.

auspicious image of plenty. The glorification of Nagasaki was constructed with pre-existing tropes of exoticism in the Chinese mode. This adapted a pre-seventeenth-century spatial configuration to a commercial world view in which Nagasaki constituted an essential landmark. Here is an even more fantastic description of Nagasaki from the same 'Japanese Family Storehouse:'

Nagasaki, first city of Japan for fabulous treasure, is a busy sight when the autumn shipping calls and bidding starts for the bales of raw silk, rolls of cloth, medicinal herbs, shark skins, aloes wood, and curios of all kinds. Year after year there is a mountain of merchandise, and not a thing is left unsold. Whatever it is – the underpants of a thunder-clap, or knick-knacks carved from demons' horns - it finds a buyer. No one who stands in this market can doubt that the world is wide.<sup>86</sup>

As previously mentioned, overseas trade was restricted to the goods brought in by Chinese and Dutch ships. The lack of direct control over the specific items brought in meant that there was always room for surprises. This triggered adjustments to the spatial imaginary: fantastic objects and entities previously associated to other lands were channelled into the cargo holds of the foreign ships arriving in the port of Nagasaki. The passage above continues further to describe local merchants whose ambitions reached beyond the home country:

Chief among the merchants gathering here from all over Japan are the sharp-witted dealers from Kyoto, Osaka, Edo and Sakai, men who think in terms of loss as well as gain, ready to send their money chasing after clouds in a foreign ship, but seldom losing in the long run.<sup>87</sup>

Notice that, in the two preceding examples, the trope of the 'foreign ship' is repeatedly used in the context of overseas trade and merchant ambition. The latter quote is accompanied by an illustration which shows these sharp-witted Japanese merchants interacting with Chinese

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<sup>86</sup> Sargent 1959b p. 106, original text in Ihara 2003 p. 195. The same passage is translated, along with a discussion of the commercial system it reflects, in Chaiklin 2003 pp. 74-6.

<sup>87</sup> 国国の商人、爰に集る中に、京・大坂・江戸・堺の利者共、万を中ぐりにして、雲をしるしの異国船になげがねも捨らず Sargent 1959 p. 106, original text in Ihara 2003 p. 195.

traders (fig. 10). There is an intriguing dialectic between the two sides of the image.<sup>88</sup> The left side shows proper social interaction associated with trade, with goods being exchanged by traders in dignified postures, including the foreign merchant kneeling in the Japanese manner.<sup>89</sup> This scene occurs under the sanction of the shogunal administration, represented by the crest and the ceremonial spears on the extreme left. In contrast, the right side of the image depicts non-proper social interaction between local merchants and foreigners, all with relaxed and lascivious poses.<sup>90</sup> The iconography of Chineseness is here used to signify both prosperity and entertainment.<sup>91</sup> However, the more immediate source for this image were illustrations for a guide to Nagasaki's prostitution quarters from 1681, *Nagasaki miyage* (長崎土産 'Souvenirs of Nagasaki') (fig. 15).<sup>92</sup> There are strong iconographical similarities between the two images: the shape of the prow, the standing man, the pavilion and its curtains, the flags. These similarities show that besides the textual trope of the 'island of treasure,' there was also a visual element to the spatial imaginary of Nagasaki that circulated widely and informed the image of foreignness in printed sources of the time.

By the 1680s, an entire generation of Japanese merchants had no longer been able to physically able to go abroad. Nagasaki thus functioned as a proxy for overseas ambitions, and conversely mediated the spatial imaginary – it became the locus classicus of geographical difference. The range of the spatial imaginary, which aimed towards a mythical 'China' across the seas, contracted and was continuously checked by the presence of Nagasaki. The process is similar to the conflation of southern islands into the 'double isle' on Ryūsen's map of Japan.<sup>93</sup> Nagasaki likewise came to encompass all of the previous characteristics of foreign lands, including mythical and commercial elements.

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<sup>88</sup> This analysis is inspired by the notes to the illustration by Sugimoto and Hiroshima in Ihara 2003 I p. 196.

<sup>89</sup> Among the goods exchanged is a *yagura dokei* (櫓時計 'turret' clock), which might be a gift from the Chinese trader (Noma's suggestion in Ihara 1969 p. 156). See the discussion in McGee 2011 p. 45.

<sup>90</sup> Interestingly, Saikaku's depiction of non-proper social interaction is exclusively male, while in 'Souvenirs of Nagasaki' a large proportion of illustrations featuring foreigners show them in the company of female entertainers - the only depictions of exclusively male interaction between Japanese and foreigners being in settings of outdoor sightseeing.

<sup>91</sup> This is similar to visual precedents for the description of Chinese merchants on Japanese soil: Nanban screens of the first half of the seventeenth century. See Lippit 2007 p. 251.

<sup>92</sup> Wakaki 1995 pp. 3-4 and Shinoda 2010 pp. 213-14.

<sup>93</sup> As discussed in chapter three, section two.

## 2.2. Money and Women

Out of the corpus of Saikaku's prose works, his so-called 'merchant' works put forth a worldview in which everything had a monetary value. This included a conceptualization of gender roles. Worldly success was envisioned from the position of an adult male. From this perspective, women outside of a marital context, such as prostitutes and itinerant performers, were subject to the same monetary logic as trade goods. In other words, prostitutes were just another type of commercial goods.

For example, Saikaku's first prose work, the 1682 *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (好色一代男 'Life of an Amorous Man') follows the amorous roamings of the dashing protagonist Yonosuke throughout Japan's prostitution quarters. In the last chapter, Yonosuke declares that he had seen 'each and every one of the brothels in this wide world.'<sup>94</sup> The term *hiroki sekai* (広き世界 'wide world') is the same as that used for the spatial ambitions of the ideal merchant in the above-quoted 'Japan's Treasury for the Ages.' Yonosuke's country-wide brothel network ran in parallel with the economic network of Saikaku's later 'merchant' works.<sup>95</sup> The spatial structure of Yonosuke's 'wide world' was circular, with the centre being the capital.<sup>96</sup> This conception of the home territory recycled the structure of the medieval spatial imaginary. In this sense, Saikaku's spatial imaginary was consistent with the image of the home territory configured by Gyōki-type maps and their seventeenth century editions.

In 'Life of an Amorous Man,' the final site in the home territory which Yonosuke visits is Nagasaki. From the point of view of narrative structure, Nagasaki would be the ideal location for an epilogue because of its two overlapping functions: the emblematic peripheric site, in line with the capital-centred worldview inherited from companion tales, and the gateway to overseas activity, in anticipation of Yonosuke's subsequent sea bound journey. However, in the narrative topography of the text, another territory lies further beyond Nagasaki: *Nyogonoshima* ('The Island of Women'), which forms a climactic open-ending to the text. Yonosuke prepares to sail toward it with six companions on a boat filled to the brim with aphrodisiacs and sexual devices which include many precious trade items (fig. 12):

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<sup>94</sup> Ihara 1971 pp. 299-300.

<sup>95</sup> Mori 2001 p. 28.

<sup>96</sup> Mori 2001 p. 33. Throughout the thesis I use the term 'capital' for the former Heian-kyō, sometimes called Miyako (the contemporary reading of the character 京) in order to avoid using the anachronistic term 'Kyōto', following the suggestion in Screech 2008.

The galley was filled with stamina-stretching foods ... Into the hold were placed fifty large jars of Kidney Combustion Pellets and Twenty Crates of Women Delighter Pills, both powerful herbal aphrodisiacs for men. They also took aboard 250 pairs of metal masturbation balls for women, 7000 dried taro stalks [jp. *oranda ito*] to be soaked in warm water and used by pairs of women, 600 latticed penis attachments, 2550 water-buffalo-horn dildos, 3500 horn dildos, 800 leather dildos, 200 erotic prints, 200 copies of the Tales of Ise, 100 loincloths, and 900 bales of tissue paper.

Checking, they found they'd forgotten many things. So then they brought aboard 200 casks of clove-oil lubricant; 400 packets of hot-sliding pepper ointment; 1000 roots of cows-knee grass for inducing abortions; 133 pounds each of mercury, crushed cotton seeds, red pepper, and imported amaranthus roots for the same purpose; as well as other lovemaking aids and implements. Then they loaded great numbers of stylish men's robes and diapers.<sup>97</sup>

This dizzying accumulation of items is an erotic version of the descriptions of Nagasaki treasures quoted earlier. At the same time, this accumulation references the auspicious abundance of the 'treasure ship' said to arrive on New Year's Day with the Seven Gods of Good Fortune on board.<sup>98</sup> This implies that the seven amorous men on board are playful adaptation (jp. *mitate*) of the Seven Gods. This reference to an auspicious event is accompanied by references to overseas trade. For example, *oranda ito* ('Dutch threads') denote an aphrodisiac made from the roots of the *taro* plant (*Colocasia esculenta*). However, at the same time the reference to 'threads' is consistent with the ubiquitous mention of textiles in descriptions of Nagasaki: 'mountains of brocade, waterfalls of white silk ... rolls of cloth.' I propose that this insistence on textiles is related to the strategic importance of silk trade in this period. A Tokugawa edict of 1636 addressed to the Nagasaki governor (jp. *bugyo*) had included the following article:

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<sup>97</sup> Translation by Drake in Shirane 2002 p. 56.

<sup>98</sup> Yonosuke's boat can therefore be characterized as an auspicious 'set-up' (jp. *tsukurimono*), of which the 'treasure ship' is a generic example. This theme will be discussed at length in the fifth chapter.

14. Nobody other than those of the five places (Yedo, Kyoto, Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki) is allowed to participate in the allocation of *ito-wappu* and the fixing of silk imported prices.<sup>99</sup>

This system of *ito wappu* ('bulk purchase') was meant to reduce contact between foreign traders and the home population, by ensuring that all of the imported silk would be bought in bulk by a merchant guild from the five towns mentioned, at prices fixed by them.<sup>100</sup> Looking again at figure 10 showing Chinese merchants in Nagasaki engaged in transactions with local merchants, notice that textile scrolls are conspicuously featured as one of the main elements of the transaction.

These rolls of silk were then sold in shops specialized in luxury goods called *karamonoya*. The illustration of a *karamonoya* in the 1690 *Jinrin kinmō zui* (人倫訓蒙図彙 'Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Humanity') shows an urban patron engaged in a conversation with the shop owner (fig. 13). Behind him are various goods including ceramics and both patterned and unpatterned rolls of silk. The loose handling of the pipe by the prospective client is reminiscent of descriptions of scenes inside the prostitution quarters, such as the illustration of Yoshiwara in Asai Ryōi's 1660 travelogue *Tōkaidō meishoki* (東海道名所記 'Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road') (fig. 14).<sup>101</sup> This produces an impression of non propriety and potential illegal dealings which is in accord with the perception of *karamonoya* as belonging to a 'potentially shady group.'<sup>102</sup>

In the 1666 prostitute critique *Yoshiwara komazarai* (吉原こまざらい 'The Yoshiwara Rake'), a fanciful ode to a *karamonoya* parodies the format of a *Shokunin zukushi uta-awase* ('Poetry Contest by Various Artisans').<sup>103</sup> A visitor to the Yoshiwara prostitution quarter is then described: 'even his pouch is from a *karamonoya*. If he were younger, he would travel over the wide world all the way to Nagasaki.'<sup>104</sup> The shop and its foreign objects thus mediate the man's spatial ambition. The material culture of foreignness is deployed in the setting of the urban

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<sup>99</sup> Boxer 1951 p. 440.

<sup>100</sup> See Boxer 1951 p. 274.

<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of this work see Traganou 2004 pp. 45-48.

<sup>102</sup> Chaiklin 2003 p. 80.

<sup>103</sup> Machotka 2009 pp. 203-4.

<sup>104</sup> きんちゃくまでもからものや。年わかければはるかなる、世もながさきへわたりかね Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 2 pp. 151, 154.



periphery. This time the goal is not commercial or edifying, but instead personal pleasure. In this example, the world is no wider than the territory of Japan, and Nagasaki is its farthest point – the nexus of liminality of the urban spatial imaginary.

Yonosuke also packs ‘200 casks of clove-oil lubricant,’ likewise a coveted import item. The Dutch held a monopoly over clove oil, and Japanese officials tried unsuccessfully to produce it locally. In 1682, the very same year when Saikaku’s first ‘floating world tale’ was published, the shogunal administration was giving express orders to the chief of the Dutch trading post to supply bottles of clove oil directly from Batavia in custom built cases.<sup>105</sup> The authorities therefore closely regulated import goods. This shows a concern with limiting the contact of their subjects with foreign objects. Yonosuke’s act of sailing out from Japan on a boat loaded with import goods would have thus constituted not only a breach of the foreign policy of the authorities, but also an economic subversion of the official economic system. Was Yonosuke an illegal trader?<sup>106</sup>

After loading the ship with precious goods, Yonosuke tells his companions:

You know, we'll probably never get back to the capital again. So let's drink some parting cups of sake.' Six of the men, astounded, asked exactly where it was he intended to take them and why it was they weren't ever going to return.

'Well,' Yonosuke replied, 'we've seen every kind of quarters woman, dancing woman, or streetwalker there is in the floating world. Look around you. There are no mountains anymore to block any of our hearts' horizons. Not yours, not mine. Our destination is the Island of Women. The one with only women living on it. There'll be so many women there, well, all you'll have to do is reach out your arms [jp. *tsukamidori*].' At that the men were delighted.

"You may exhaust your kidneys and vital fluids," Yonosuke continued, "and get yourself buried there, but, well, what of it? All of us here happened to be born to live our whole lives without ties or families. Really, what more could we ask

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<sup>105</sup> Michel 2007 p. 296.

<sup>106</sup> Minowa 1991 argues that Yonosuke’s elopement hints at the 1676 banishment of the Nagasaki magistrate (jp. *daikan*) Suetsugi Heizō Shigetomo for illegal trade. This event was widely known in the period, such that even the Dutch physician Engelbert Kaempfer recorded it - see Kaempfer 1999 pp. 166-7.

for?"

The men finally found fair weather at Izu, at the southern tip of eastern Japan. From there, following the winds of love, they sailed out into the ocean at the end of the Tenth Month, the Godless Month, in 1682, and disappeared, whereabouts completely unknown.<sup>107</sup>

This fragment exemplifies a pattern in the spatial imaginary: firstly, as discussed above, many of the objects loaded on Yonosuke's 'treasure ship' are the result of trade. Secondly, when Yonosuke says 'there'll be so many women there, well, all you'll have to do is reach out your arms,' he uses the same expression which appears in the earlier quoted fragment from 'Amorous chronicles of prosperity and decadence,' where it carried its original meaning of 'easy money.'<sup>108</sup> Women, money and things were thus interchangeable in a vast network whose spatial range was configured by the cartographical imaginary. The Island of Women works here as a climactic stand-in for foreignness, an exponential extrapolation of Nagasaki. Ending the text with an elopement from Nagasaki might also have been politically sensitive, smacking too much of instigation to actual elopement. The parallel to Nagasaki is however, unavoidable, and is reinforced by Saikaku's own illustration to the episode (fig. 12), inspired by an image from the same 'Souvenir of Nagasaki' (fig. 15). More specifically, the shape of the flag and the gesture of the figure at the bow is strikingly similar to the depiction of a leisure boat in the bay of Nagasaki.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, the textual continuity between these two peripheral spaces, Nagasaki and The Island of Women, is reflected in the visual medium.

The illustrations to 'Souvenir of Nagasaki' are not the only possible source for the hybrid iconography of Yonosuke's ship: the depiction of the prow of the Japanese ship in the 1671 map *Bankoku sōkai zu* is very similar to the prow of Yonosuke's ship (figs. 8, 12). It also corresponds to the generic iconography of Chinese ships in the period. For example, flags with a similar shape are depicted in a 1660s scroll version of the 'companion tale' *Hōrai Monogatari* (蓬莱物語 'Tales of Penglai') on the ship of the legendary Xu Fu, the court sorcerer sent by the emperor Qin Shi Huang to the seas east of China in search for the elixir of immortality (fig.

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<sup>107</sup> Translated by Drake in Shirane 2002 pp. 34-35. For original text see Ihara 1957 p. 126.

<sup>108</sup> Mori 2001 p. 15.

<sup>109</sup> Shinoda 2010 p. 214.

16).<sup>110</sup> The iconography of Chineseness was therefore a generic signifier for foreignness. However, the peculiar round and fluttery shape of the other flag on Yonosuke's ship is less common. The only group of materials on which it was constantly featured were printed cartographical materials. For example, in the same *Bankoku sōkai zu*, the Dutch ship featured a very similar flag blown up by the wind (fig. 17). Although Ryūsen's map would not appear until five years later, in 1682 there were a number of similar maps in circulation, such as the 1662 'Map of the Land of the Mulberry Tree.' I therefore argue that Saikaku would have seen one of these maps and taken details from them for his illustration. This possibility is reinforced by the fact that the Izu Peninsula, from where Yonosuke sails off, is indeed shown as the southern tip of the home territory on, among others, the 'Map of the Land of the Mulberry Tree,' where a red naval route connects the tip of the peninsula to Hachijo, an island often identified with the 'Island of Women.'<sup>111</sup> Saikaku's exact cartographic source awaits further study, but it is already clear that Saikaku's spatial imaginary was mediated by the visual format of woodblock-printed maps. Rather than referring to a specific map, Saikaku was manipulating an experience of space mediated by cartographic formats.

## 2.3. Centre and Periphery

### 2.3.1 The Centre of the World

The vast expanse of the spatial imaginary in this period continued to be centripetal. The merchant expanding his enterprise was still centred on his initial shop and on the notion of the capital, even when his activity revolved around other urban centres such as Osaka or Edo. However, in the late seventeenth century context, the centre of this discourse shifted to the sites of urban entertainment. An early example is included in the 1660 'Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road.' The protagonist Rakuami visits the theatre district of Sakai-chō and darts off the following verse: '[Watching] the pretty female impersonators (jp. *onnagata*) of the kabuki theatre, can this be indeed the centre of the world?'<sup>112</sup> The meaning of the expression 'centre of the world' had been spelled out in the sixteenth century dictionary *Gosen ikyokushū* 後撰夷曲集: 'People call an incredible thing, something that can't get any better "the

<sup>110</sup> 'Tales of Penglai' is discussed in the following chapter in connection to its iconography relating to the 'Island of Women.'

<sup>111</sup> See Yoshie 1971, a seminal study on the 'Island of Women,' and Maclaure 2005.

<sup>112</sup> うつくしき若衆歌舞伎おんながたこれは世界のまんなかぞかし Asai 1979 vol 1 p. 16.

centre of the world”.<sup>113</sup> The ‘world’ here refers to the space defined by human activity. Conversely, the description of Edo in ‘Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road’ is myopically focused on the ‘places of ill repute’ (jp. *akusho*), namely the theatre district and the prostitution quarters. While this has led to the text being criticised for its lack of veracity,<sup>114</sup> I argue instead that its viewpoint was representative of the spatial imaginary of the urban public. The ‘world’ was redefined by an urban set of values which repositioned the peripheral location of the places of ill repute at the centre of discourse. This process was accompanied by corresponding peripheral identities, such as female impersonators (jp. *onnagata*).

The same process of symbolic inversion of the periphery with the centre is at work in an illustration to the 1675 prostitute critique *Yoshiwara ōzassho* (吉原大雑書 ‘Great Miscellany of the Yoshiwara’) (fig. 18). The work is a playful adaptation (jp. *mitate*)<sup>115</sup> of the format of an *Ise goyomi* (伊勢暦 ‘Ise Almanac’), a book containing a set of divinations for the year to follow. It accordingly features a map of Yoshiwara that is a spoof of the Earthquake map of Japan which came to be customarily included as the first illustration in the original almanac format (figs. 4, 19). The moat surrounding the space of the prostitution quarter becomes the body of a dragon whose head is placed where the main gate (jp. *ōmon guchi*) would be. The real space of Yoshiwara is thus manipulated by the spatial imaginary of the urban public. Even more interestingly, the adaptation of this cartographic trope to a vernacular discourse makes Yoshiwara itself into Japan, and by implication, the male visitor into a foreigner visiting Japan. Just like in the case of Rakuami’s description of the theatre district, the periphery is relocated to the centre of the spatial imaginary. And there could be more to this appropriation than just a visual pun. No less than seven temples are labelled in the area surrounding Yoshiwara, in addition to the cremation grounds which were close to Yoshiwara but never mentioned in commercially printed texts.<sup>116</sup> This implies a delimitation of a pure space within the dragon’s body protected by the surrounding temples, in contrast with the impurity of the cremation grounds. The original Earthquake map of Japan was meant to protect against calamities. It is,

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<sup>113</sup> 見事なることを、あつた物ではない世界の眞中といへる世話にてよめる. From the 1672 woodblock printed edition. See Maeda 1993 p. 190.

<sup>114</sup> Elisonas 1994 p. 257.

<sup>115</sup> The issue of the most appropriate English translation for this elusive aesthetic strategy is thorny, and the use of the original term seems best suited for an in-depth discussion such as in Haft 2013. In this study I have chosen to use the terms ‘playful adaptation,’ which resonates with the term ‘playful verse’ which I use to translate *haikai* or *haishi*.

<sup>116</sup> Thank you to Greg Smits for these observations.

therefore, possible that the Earthquake map of Yoshiwara was also meant as an apotropaic image. This protective value would have also intensified the parodic effect: it would have implied a reader so obsessed with the prostitution quarters that it deformed the entire structure of his spatial imaginary. The insertion of tropes of periphery into the very core of vernacular urban discourse could therefore have multiple functions: festive, subversive, playful, protective.

### 2.3.2 The Edge of the World

In contrast to the centripetal nature of the above examples, Yonosuke's final gesture of sailing towards the Island of Women is centrifugal. Yonosuke makes his liminal position permanent by sailing out towards the edge of the map. The permanently liminal position of Yonosuke corresponded to an ex-centric identity assimilated with 'the edge of the world' (jp. *sekai no hazure*) in vernacular texts of the period. For example, in one of Saikaku's later works, the 1689 *Honchō ōin hiji* (本朝桜陰比事 'Tales of Justice in Our Realm'), a jester (jp. *taiko mochi*) renting temporary lodgings is described as 'going through the world like in a dream, making the night into day, a man at the edge of the map of the world'<sup>117</sup> In contrast to the positive connotation of the merchant spirit as wide as the world, in this case the person 'at the edge of the world' is negatively valued. He is outside the mercantile world paradigm and the ideal of a proper life ultimately leading to commercial success.

The 'edge of the world' denoting an ex-centric identity was associated with a change in the rhythms of day and night. We find another example of this pattern in an episode from Saikaku's 1685 text *Wankyū isse monogatari* (塙久一世の物語 'The Story of Wankyū's Life'). It starts with the protagonist having fun while burning the candle at night as bright as at noon, and therefore described as living in a 'world where the day is night.' Then, in the second volume, Wankyū turns mad, and his lifestyle becomes 'like living on an island at the edge of the world, in the country in which the noon is at night.'<sup>118</sup> I propose that this 'country in which the noon is at night' was a reference to the 'Night land' 夜國 as it appeared on printed maps such as the 'Complete Map of the Myriad Realms and Lands' (fig. 6). They show a cluster of these 'Night Lands' marked by a black fill and therefore highly visible in the overall design. The

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<sup>117</sup> See Ihara 1980 p. 12, in which this passage is rendered by Kondo and Marks as: 'Night was day for him; he led a life that knew no bounds.'

<sup>118</sup> これぞ世界の島はづれに住み、夜を昼にする国のごとくなりぬ. Ihara 2000 p. 385.

accompanying commentary, again adapted from Matteo Ricci's map, reads: 'in these countries of the North, from the second to the eighth month there is daylight, and from eighth to the second month there is night.'<sup>119</sup> Wankyū's deviation from normal temporal rhythms was thus equated with the embodiment of the foreignness of a land of topsy-turvy. The ex-centric identity thus constructed was reminiscent of descriptions of Demons, and was therefore at risk of spilling out into a non-human identity.

We find further examples of cartographical tropes configuring an ex-centric identity in earlier poetic anthologies of the Danrin *haikai* group, of which Saikaku was a prominent member. A verse sequence in the tenth section of the 1679 Danrin compilation *Tobiume senku* (飛梅千句 'A Thousand Verses of the Flying Plum Tree') envisions a misty mountain landscape in winter:

A narrow pass which horses can't cross  
Clip clop and a bridge of round rotten logs  
Birds from the country that does not see the light of day in the secluded valley  
The bright moon reminds me of my time in the capital.<sup>120</sup>

This sequence testifies to the seamless integration of cartographical elements into poetic composition. Cartographical periphery is aligned with the periphery of the Japanese landscape. Or rather, the image of the local periphery is amplified with tropes of cartographical periphery. This is compounded by the reference, in the last verse, to the story of the monk Shunkan, exiled to Kikaigashima (鬼界島 'Island of the Realm of Demons') and reminiscing about his days in the capital. In these verses, a local periphery is collapsed into two other types of peripheries. The first one is cartographic, referring to the contemporary medium of printed maps of the world. The second one refers to Kikaigashima, an earlier concept of the periphery of Japan originally featured in eleventh century court narratives.

But this ex-centric identity did not have exclusively negative connotations. It was also actively pursued, for example in an episode from the beginning of Ihara Saikaku's 1685 'floating world

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<sup>119</sup> The commentary originated in the following text from Matteo Ricci's world map *Kunyu Wanquo Quntu*: 'In the extreme north of this country there is sun for half the year and no sun for the other half. Consequently, fish-oil is used for burning in lamps to take the place of daylight.' Giles 1918 p. 381.

<sup>120</sup> Ihara 1972 p. 185.

tale' *Kōshoku gonin onna* (好色五人女 'Five Women Who Loved Love'). Guests in a prostitution quarter are entertained with the game of 'people from Naked Island' in a feast of liminality. The host sets the scene:

Shutting the doors and blinds to cut out the light, he created a place for constant entertainment, a kingdom of eternal night 昼のない国. Instead of funeral incense they burned toothpicks and exhausted their repertoire of things commonly done at night.<sup>121</sup>

The extraordinary space of the 'kingdom of eternal night' is temporarily reproduced in this world, in this case within the heterotopic space of the prostitution quarters.<sup>122</sup> Then, eccentric identities are constructed through a collective performance:

Finally, under the pretext of playing 'naked islanders,' such as on maps of the world 世界の図にある裸島とて, the courtesans were made to disrobe in spite of their unwillingness.<sup>123</sup>

An Island of the Naked is not featured on any of the contemporary printed maps of the world. What source did then Saikaku use? The 'Island of the Naked' does feature in the text of the 'companion tale' *Onzōshi shima watari* (御曹司嶋渡り 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands'), manuscripts of which date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>124</sup> The plot follows the Gulliver-like island peregrinations of the martial hero Yoshitsune in search for a secret scroll.<sup>125</sup> This conforms to the narrative pattern of *ikyō hōmontan* (異郷訪問譚 'story of visit to another land'), in which a male protagonist reaches an otherworld through extraordinary means, is welcomed by an (usually female) inhabitant of the otherworld, then is given a 'treasure' which he returns to the normal world and acquires the status of a protective

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<sup>121</sup> De Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006 p. 43. Original text in Ihara 1971 p. 310.

<sup>122</sup> See chapter three for a discussion of prostitution quarters as heterotopias.

<sup>123</sup> De Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006 p. 43. Original text in Ihara 1971 p. 310.

<sup>124</sup> Critical edition of the text in Ichiko 1958, translated in Mills 1973.

<sup>125</sup> For a summary and short discussion, see McCullough 1966 pp. 50-52.

divinity.<sup>126</sup> 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands' complicates this pattern by multiplying the liminal spaces visited by Yoshitsune outside the home territory. This testifies to the expansion of the geographical imaginary toward the end of the medieval period, coinciding with the production and circulation of East Asian maps showing a variety of imaginary islands around the Japanese archipelago.<sup>127</sup> Yoshitsune's destinations thus form a compendium of categories of radical alterity within the geographical imaginary of medieval Japan.<sup>128</sup> A mid-seventeenth century illustration of Yoshitsune's visit to the Island of the Naked shows the protagonist in splendid court robes, facing the inhabitants of the island after having disembarked from his boat (fig. 20). All of the inhabitants of the island are male, of various ages, with dishevelled hair and wearing only coarse aprons around their hips. The verse above them reads:

When the wind blows  
Yes, we feel the cold  
On Naked Island.  
But the sight of a hempen robe  
Is something we've never known.<sup>129</sup>

The visual vocabulary of sartorial contrast denotes the difference in levels of civilization in exactly the same way as in the 'people' section of 'Complete Map of the Myriad Lands.' Between these two identities is depicted a pyramid of textile scrolls, which acts as a material mediator for spatial and ontological difference. The text only mentions 'Echigo linen' as being conjured up by Yoshitsune and offered to the islanders. The illustration goes further than the text by including a mountain of textile rolls of a larger variety than the textual source. As discussed above, textiles were a sensitive trade item. In the same Tokugawa edict of 1636 quoted earlier, the article preceding the one on *ito wappu* quoted earlier states:

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<sup>126</sup> The story of Urashima, discussed in chapter four, is a representative early example of this pattern. See Katsumata 2009.

<sup>127</sup> Robinson 2000.

<sup>128</sup> I use the term 'radical alterity' to refer to forms of the Other outside everyday experience, in contrast with can be called 'mild alterity,' forms of the Other encountered in everyday experience. See Boia 1995.

<sup>129</sup> Mills 1973 p. 63.



13. Samurai are not allowed to have direct commercial dealings with either foreign or Chinese shipping at Nagasaki.<sup>130</sup>

Taking the above into consideration, the depiction of a samurai exchanging silk with inhabitants of a foreign land emerges as politically subversive. The illustration thus updates the medieval text while concomitantly dyeing it with contemporary subversive undertones. The mention of playing ‘naked islanders’ in the above fragment from ‘Five Women Who Loved Love’ can now be reassessed as a blend of allusions to this late medieval narrative and, simultaneously, to contemporary cartographic production. The spatial imaginary of urban entertainment was therefore equally configured by mythical narratives and by cartographic visualizations.

When Saikaku mentioned *sekai no zu* (世界の図 ‘world map’) in the above quote from “Five Women Who Loved Love”), he might have meant one of the versions of ‘Complete Map of the Myriad Lands’ discussed in the first chapter. At least one surviving copy of the 1671 edition has *sekai no zu* as the frontispiece title (fig. 7). When Saikaku mentioned ‘Night Land,’ the reference would have been to the cartographic element of the map. But in the case of the idiom *sekai no zu ni minai kao* (‘a face such as you can not see on the map of the world’), the reference would have been to the ontological element, the people section of the map. The conclusion that emerges is that the spatial imaginary of the time had two interconnecting characteristics: spatial, in this case cartographic visualizations on woodblock prints, and ontological, in this case the model of the foreign Other.

The same interconnection between spatial and ontological peripheries is at work throughout Saikaku’s ‘Life of an Amorous Man.’ Halfway through the text, Yonosuke’s life is at a turning point. This is marked by several encounters with liminal figures. One of them occurs in volume four, after Yonosuke is arrested at a mountain pass and thrown into a prison cell. He is confronted by wardens ‘with black faces, long hair and glistening eyes, as if they came from the Island of Ox-headed Demons that you see on maps of the world.’<sup>131</sup> The reference to Ox-headed Demons is relevant to this chapter’s argument for two reasons. Firstly, it provides another example of alterity occurring in a liminal context, both spatial (mountain pass) and temporal

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<sup>130</sup> Boxer 1951 p. 440.

<sup>131</sup> Ihara 2000 p. 71. It was not possible to use the only English translation of this episode by Kengi Hamada (Ihara 1964), because the reference to the Island of Ox-headed Demons was omitted.

(night). Secondly, it indicates another instance of mythical narratives and cartographic visualizations jointly informing the spatial imaginary of ‘floating world tale.’ Tellingly, an Island of Ox-headed Demons is mentioned in ‘Yoshitsune’s Voyage through the Islands.’<sup>132</sup> The same text had also featured the episode of Yoshitsune visiting the Island of Women towards which Yonosuke also eventually sets out. These two rare place-names points to a strong possibility of Saikaku’s spatial imaginary being influenced by this specific ‘companion tale.’ As for the cartographic source, I could not locate any map of the world which features this island. This is, however, even more interesting for the analysis of the spatial imaginary – it shows Saikaku flirting with the plausibility of such an island being included on a map of the world. As in Yonosuke’s elopement and many other examples in this chapter, Saikaku is using the cartographic format as a support for his spatial imaginary.

Saikaku’s work features another instance of ox-headed demons used in conjunction with the trope of the world map. In the 1679 *renga* (‘linked verse’) compilation *Haikai Gotoku* (俳諧五徳 ‘The Five Virtues of Haikai’) we find the following sequence of verses:

The struggles of the country folk grow boiling hot<sup>133</sup>  
Out of Atami’s hot springs emerge Ox Demons  
World maps and the bay of Matsushima were moved over here  
Come and see the statue of Benzaiten!<sup>134</sup>

Here, customers who come out of the hot springs with red skin and bloated facial features are likened to ox-headed demons. The trope of ‘world map’ means here ‘curious sights not found on any world map.’ It therefore relates to the image of ox-headed demons only inasmuch as it would jokingly include the sightseers themselves among the sights. But the proximity of Ox Demons and World map, one ending a verse, the other beginning the next, suggests an associative link supported by cartographic materials. Again, the reference is to the ontological element of the map.

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<sup>132</sup> Shinoda 2010 p. 79.

<sup>133</sup> This is a reference to a line from the noh play *Dōjōji*: ‘breathing smoke and flames, she [the jealous woman-turned-serpent] lashed the bell with her tail. At once the bronze grew hot, boiling hot, and the monk, hidden inside, was roasted alive.’ Translation by Tyler in Brazell and Araki 1998 p. 202.

<sup>134</sup> 百性の執心忽湯と成て・あたみのおくより出る牛鬼・世界の図爰に松島移されたり・弁才天の御作で御座る Ihara 1972 p. 76.

An equally intriguing example of Saikaku's spatial imaginary comes from the least analysed section of his work: his visual output. A poem card dedicated by Saikaku to the sixth month of the year depicts two foreign-looking men at the edge of a bank, with a suggestion of trailing clouds beyond (fig. 21). It is an example of poem-painting (jp. *haiga*), the visual variant of the *haikai* poetic practice.<sup>135</sup> The verses above the image read:

The world is wide

I wonder if there are lands that do not glimpse the sea

Cloud peaks must be the thing in lands that do not know of mountains.<sup>136</sup>

The poem seems to convey the conversation of the two male figures depicted with flowing robes and unusual head dress. This is a vaguely foreign look, and it is reasonable to assume that it was meant to depict the inhabitants of a foreign land such as those implied by the poem. The pair of figures is reminiscent of depictions of foreign couples on the left side of the 'Complete Map of Myriad Lands' (figs. 22, 23). This was one of the few iconographical sources for the depiction of foreigners in this period. It is therefore possible that the 1671 edition of the map influenced Saikaku's depiction of foreigners in this illustration. The head tilted to the side might have been inspired by figures such as the leftmost inhabitant of Afurika (fig. 22). In its turn, the lobe-shaped headdress of the male figure on the right of figure 21 is similar to that of the inhabitant of the 'Great Ming' (fig. 23).

Saikaku's illustration is an example of the creative reworking of cartographic materials of the period. It is a complex response to both the spatial and the ontological components of printed maps. On the one hand, the world map on the right of 'Complete Map of Myriad Lands' triggered speculations on the topography of other lands. On the other hand, the 'people of the world' section on the left spurred considerations on the aesthetics of foreigners which admire cloud peaks as we admire mountains. The 'people of the world' section also generated a creative visual response manifested in the appropriation of iconographical elements for the depiction of foreign identity. And there is another dimension of Saikaku's painting worth considering: the male figures are more foreign than Japanese, but not as radically different as to exclude the possibility of them being alter egos of the author or the readers. It certainly seems plausible

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<sup>135</sup> See Addiss 2006. The painting is reproduced in Zauhō Kankōkai 1979 cat. 91.

<sup>136</sup> 世界ハひろし 海見ぬ国もあるぞかし 雲の峯や 山見ぬ国の 拾ひもの.

that Saikaku would imagine himself as a citizen of a foreign land, since he was keen on including tropes of foreignness in the construction of his eccentric identity, as discussed later in this chapter.

We find another example of this playful imagination in a succession of verses from *Shōjin namasu* (精進膾 ‘Vegetarian Raw Fish’). This is a requiem *haikai* sequence published in 1683 as the record of a gathering led by Saikaku on 27<sup>th</sup> of the Third Month of 1682 to commemorate one year since the death of the founder of the Danrin school of *haikai* poetry, Nishiyama Sōin.<sup>137</sup> A group of verses include cartographic tropes:

Spring winds are blowing,  
I tie my sash and come out to see the female waves lapping the shore  
Hug it, carry it on your back, My fault! they cry out  
Surely it's not like that but rather like the Country of Impotence  
where you don't get to dream or rest  
The egg is cracked, drink up.<sup>138</sup>

Elucidating the meaning of the reference to the ‘Country of Impotence’ requires the untangling of the web of poetic associations in this sequence. First of all, the phrase ‘Hug it, carry it on your back’ is a reference to the cry of the *ubume*, a female ghost of a woman who died at childbirth. The *ubume* then haunts crossroads at night and asks a male passer-by to hold the baby she has been carrying in her arms. The woman then disappears and the child becomes heavier and heavier until the passer-by says a Buddhist prayer and therefore helps the child return to this world.<sup>139</sup> The following phrase in the sequence - ‘My fault! They cry out’ - is a reference to a poem by Fujiwara no Naoiko in the tenth century poetic anthology *Kokin Wakashū*:

There's a crack-shell worm  
Living in the weedy wrack  
The seafolk harvest;

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<sup>137</sup> Drake 1991 p. 529.

<sup>138</sup> Ihara 1972 p. 453. The last verse is by Saikaku.

<sup>139</sup> Foster 2009 pp. 60-62. More information on the *ubume* legend can be found in Foster 2009 p. 230 note 64.

And a worm like I-shell not  
Blame others: "My fault! I'll cry."<sup>140</sup>

Thus the reference to the Country of Impotence is occasioned by the mentioning of an inversion – day with night. The characterization of the island as being without 'dream or rest' ties it to the 'Land of Night'<sup>141</sup> on maps of the world. The link is reinforced in the next verse, which refers to the egg-shaped map of the world.<sup>142</sup>

Besides cartographic and classical allusions, the above sequence from 'Vegetarian Raw Fish' also invites an erotic reading. The 'faintly comical'<sup>143</sup> character of the original poem is exploited here for an erotic allusion. The 'female waves,' the egg drunk to improve virility, indicates an allusion to the Island of Women. The 1682 date is very close to the date of publication of Saikaku's first 'floating world tale,' and it is reasonable to assume that the Island of Women would have been fresh in the minds of the members of Saikaku's poetic circle. This possibility is reinforced by Yonosuke's use of the very same term, *jinkyō* (腎虚 'impotence'), in relationship to the Island of Women at the end of 'Life of an Amorous Man.'<sup>144</sup> The possibility of impotence is raised in connection to a presumed erotic climax to be found on the Island of Women. The verse sequence thus displays both the complex cartographic connotations of the spatial imaginary and its social dimension, since it was shared between participants in a form of collective expression.

### 2.3.3 'Out of This World map'

In poetic works of the period, this construction of ex-centric identities was taken further, off the map. Often, it was strong feelings which lead to this estrangement, such as in this verse from the poetic anthology *Watashi bune* (船し渡 'The Ferry') compiled by Saikaku in 1679: 'My

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<sup>140</sup> Kokinshū XV: 809, in Cranston 1993 vol. 2 part A p. 126.

<sup>141</sup> The same interpretation is proposed in Ihara 1972 p. 506.

<sup>142</sup> See Maeda 1993 p. 186.

<sup>143</sup> See Cranston 1993 vol. 2 part A p. 125.

<sup>144</sup> Chris Drake in Shirane 2002 p.35 translates it as 'exhaust your kidneys and vital fluids,' while Frühstück 1998 p. 62 renders it as "'hollow kidney (semen),' meaning exhausted libido.' The term played a central role in the medical discourse on 'nurturing life' (養生 ch. Yangsheng, jp. yōjō), originating in Ming period texts and introduced into the mainstream of Japanese medical thought by the writings of Manase Dōsan (1507-1594), some of them in verse form: *Yōjō waka* 養生和歌 ('Poems on Nurturing Life') and *Yōjō no haikai* 養生之俳諧 ('Haikai on Nurturing Life'), both from 1588. Machi 2014 p. 173.

love is outside the map of the world’<sup>145</sup> But more often, the identity defined by cartographic periphery had a positive connotation. It was still about exceptionality, but this time it was something desirable. For example, the term ‘world map’ was used to designate exceptional beauty. The full form of this idiom was ‘a thing not to be found on the map of the world’*雖世界図無在物*, abbreviated to ‘map of the world’*世界の図*, and sometimes even further to ‘no map’*ない図*.<sup>146</sup>

The expression appears in a verse from the 1660 prostitute critique *Takabyōbu kuda monogatari* (高屏風くた物がたり ‘Long-Winded Tale of a Chivalrous Man’<sup>147</sup>): ‘Oh Yoshiwara! Cherries blossoming throughout the seasons - [such a sight can’t be found on the] world map.’<sup>148</sup> The image of the world map is employed here to describe the exceptional character of the space of the prostitution quarter. It envisages an utopian space where time has halted to an eternal spring. But more often than space, it was exceptional identities which were described with this trope. Thus, in the same ‘Great Miscellany of the Yoshiwara’ which contained the map of Yoshiwara surrounded by a dragon, the prostitute Takao is discussed in the following terms: ‘If a person is beautiful, that alone shouldn’t be a reason for praise. If their features are not pretty, they shouldn’t be blamed for it either. If they’re endowed with the three virtues, they shouldn’t often be called “world map”’<sup>149</sup>

There are also numerous examples of the use of this idiom in relationship to actors of the *kabuki* theatre that specialized in female impersonation. In the 1662 actor critique *Mukitokoro* (剥野老 ‘Pared Yams’) the female impersonator Tamamura is described in these terms: ‘you won’t think he is someone of this world, as if he is a descendant of a heavenly being ... his jewel face [you can’t find on the] world map.’<sup>150</sup>

The same actor is described in Saikaku’s 1687 *Nanshoku ōkagami* (男色大鏡 ‘Great Mirror of Male Love’) with a different set of tropes. The innumerable passions that he stirred among both men and women are mentioned, ‘especially the emotion on his decorated face while doing the

<sup>145</sup> 我恋は世界の図にもはづれたり 梅翁 Ihara 1950 p. 288.

<sup>146</sup> Maeda 1993 p. 190.

<sup>147</sup> I owe the translation of the title to Schalow 1990 p. 364.

<sup>148</sup> 吉原や四季にさくはな せかいのづ. Noma 1973 p. 304.

<sup>149</sup> うつくしきはかりはほむる事にあらず。みめあしきとてそしるへきにもなし。三とくをかねたるをもつて、よきせかいのづとほむることにあらず. Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 2 p. 318.

<sup>150</sup> Maeda 1993 p. 189.

Yang Guifei skit - oh, I haven't seen China so I can't tell for sure, but it was something that couldn't be captured in a portrait [jp. *sugata-e*].<sup>151</sup>

Again, the extraordinariness of this actor's performance is described in terms of the idea of China as a model of beauty. But equally important to our enquiry is the idea is that this actor's performance escapes available means of representation. Portraits are customarily analysed as aesthetic objects, but the fact that the performance of the same actor is described in terms of both actor pictures and world maps puts these two visual sources on an equal footing. The conclusion that emerges is that, for the audience of the time, maps and portraits were equally valid conveyors of a performer's visual impact.

Saikaku stirs up the same ingredients in a 1681 collection of solo verses, *Saikaku ōyakazu* (西鶴大矢数 'Saikaku's Many Arrows'):

Somehow the egg oozes to the bottom  
the sash is loose, the face a world map,  
the young man with Chinese coiffure standing at the gate.<sup>152</sup>

The oozing egg refers to the image of the world map, as discussed earlier. Notice Saikaku's recurring mental association: World map – China – Chinese-style coiffure (of a young man).<sup>153</sup> Concomitantly, the presence of the loose sash recalls the above quoted verses from 'Vegetarian Raw Fish': 'I tie my sash and come out to see the female waves lapping the shore.'

The trope of the 'world map' was not used in relationship to specific feminine identities. It was rather the marker of a superlative model of elegance. This is visible in a section from a 1678 linked-verse anthology, *Osaka Danrin sakura senku* (大坂檀林櫻千句 'A Thousand Verses of the Osaka Danrin School'):

Cotton threads died black  
The ship from Tonkin passes by this time  
World maps and fancy ladies, all hand-picked

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<sup>151</sup> Ihara 2002 p. 330.

<sup>152</sup> 何事も尻へぬけたる卵酒・帯がゆるひは世界の貌・門立のもろこし様に續く者は Ihara 1975 p. 49.

<sup>153</sup> Maeda 1993 p. 192.

## Women in their prime older than twenty<sup>154</sup>

There is a string of associations here: the mention of textile threads triggers the image of an overseas trading ship, which leads in turn to the mention of 'world maps.' The *double entendre* of this latter term, which can mean both the cartographic item and the superlative attribute, leads into the term *yama*, literally 'mountain' but in this context denoting a type of prostitutes. The image of a Chinese trading ship is thus refashioned into a temporary feminine heterotopia.<sup>155</sup> The trope of the boat appears with the connotation of plentiness, being loaded to the brim with precious items. This echoes the idea of the 'treasure ship' which brings prosperity from afar. There is a parallelism between the image of the ship loaded with precious goods and this ship from Tonkin loaded with precious women. Trade goods and women are equivalent. The same connotations would be employed four years later by Saikaku in the description of Yonosuke's boat.

### 2. 4. Identities

#### 2.4.1. 'Otherland' and 'China'

So far, this chapter has discussed examples of cartographic tropes being applied to the construction of ex-centric identities, such as in the game of people from the Island of the Naked. There was a further development in the 'floating world' production of the period: cartographic tropes were employed for the labelling of an inherently eccentric figure, that of the prostitute. Emblematic is the explanation of the name of the prostitute Ikoku (異国 'Otherland') from Fujimoto Kizan's 1678 erotic encyclopaedia *Shikidō ōkagami* (色道大鏡 'The Great Mirror of the Art of Love'):<sup>156</sup>

Ikoku: This is the name of an Edo courtesan. They say Morokoshi is a distinguished name, so this is probably another way of saying that. It's probably also with the meaning that such a beautiful woman is not to be found in another

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<sup>154</sup> 綿糸やふしかね染と成ぬらん・東京舟も渡るこのたひ・世界の図或は山も各別に[西鶴]・女房さかりやはたちかさぬる Ihara 1950 p. 94.

<sup>155</sup> See note 236.

<sup>156</sup> For a discussion see Keene 1971 and Berry 2006 p. 20.



land. Still, it's a weird name.<sup>157</sup>

This idea of foreign lands as connoting a precious object echoes a long tradition of appreciation for import goods (jp. *karamono*). In the context of examples discussed in this chapter, the spatial reference resonates with the world (jp. *sekai*) as seen from a merchant's point of view, such as in descriptions of Nagasaki and the treasures brought there from outside Japan. Terms referring to foreign lands could thus evoke visions of prostitutes and pleasures associated with them. Again, this process accompanied commercial success: in Saikaku's 'Great Mirror of Beauties,' a thriving merchant lines up twenty prostitutes on a veranda and pairs them up with flower baskets: 'That Battle of Flowers was like the unseen China, heavenly beings in front of our very eyes.'<sup>158</sup> The term 'Battle of Flowers' 花軍 is a reference to stories of Elegant Battles 風流陣, associated with the love story between Emperor Xuanzong and Yang Guifei.<sup>159</sup> The reference to an idealized Chinese court from the past was thus conjoined with references to the geographical and mythical imaginary, and supplemented with a spoof of a classic Japanese poem.<sup>160</sup> What emerges out of this short phrase is a heterogeneous cultural mix which gathers in a nutshell the range of cultural references available within the late seventeenth century spatial imaginary.

The name of another prostitute, Minato (湊 'Harbour'), recalled maritime exploration. The term *minato* itself suggested Nagasaki, as evident from the following verse in the 1677 *Saikaku Haikai ôkukazu* (西鶴俳諧大句数 'Saikaku's Haikai: The Great Compilation'): 'The harbour! The autumn ship heading towards it.'<sup>161</sup> It is worth recalling the quote from 'The Japanese Family Storehouse' discussed earlier: 'Nagasaki, first city of Japan for fabulous treasure, is a

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<sup>157</sup> 異國 江戸名之。上品の名にもろこしといふあれば、それをいひかへて見たる心か。又、かやうの美女は、異国にもあるまじきとの心にて付たるか。扱もおかしき名なり。Fujimoto 2006 p. 326.

<sup>158</sup> 彼花軍は、みぬもろこしの事、目のまへの天人、通ひ路の雲川が、久しひ顔もあかず、見捨行。Ihara 2000 p. 249.

<sup>159</sup> Lavish folding screens depicting these flower battles were produced by Kano school painters from the late sixteenth century up to the first decades of the seventeenth century. A lavish version is illustrated in Toda et al. 1980 cat. 76-78, and other versions are mentioned at p. 176.

<sup>160</sup> 天津風雲の通ひ路吹き閉ぢよをとめの姿しばしとどめむ by Archbishop Henjo, originally included in Kokinshu, and then as poem nr. 12 in the widely known anthology *Hyakunin isschu* (百人一首 'One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each'). Translated in Mostow 1996 p. 178 as: 'O heavenly breeze, blow as to block their path back through the clouds! For I would, if but for a moment, detain these maidens' forms.'

<sup>161</sup> 湊や秋の船がかたぶく Ihara 1971 p. 82.

busy sight when the autumn shipping calls...'<sup>162</sup> The 'autumn ship' was therefore a reference to the ocean trading ships arriving in Nagasaki after the monsoon season. In Saikaku's verse above, the image of the harbour was thus accompanied by allusions to the trade activity in Nagasaki. This connotation underscored the meaning of a poem dedicated to the prostitute Minato in the 1675 prostitute critique *Sancho yaburegasa* (山茶やぶれ笠 'Visiting the Teahouses with a Shredded Umbrella'<sup>163</sup>):

Yearning and yearning for you  
I am a traversing ship  
Borne by tailwind to the port of love.'<sup>164</sup>

In this example, the commercial connotations of the harbour are overshadowed by eroticism. The harbour, usually a site for commercial interaction, is now assimilated to the site of the prostitution quarter. The male subject fashions himself into a ship, similar to Ryūsen's use of the 'Drifting ship' seal on his 1688 map of the world. This flirting naval identity is an erotic counterpart to the ocean-going ship which forms the identity of the ideal merchant.

I have found no instance of a prostitute named *Oranda* ('Holland'). This indicates that there was a difference in the type of foreignness signified by *Oranda* compared to that of *Ikoku* or *Morokoshi*. A prostitute's name had to appeal foremost, and it did that by suggesting poetic or elegant allusions. *Morokoshi* fully qualified for this, because it could trigger allusions or comparisons to Chinese beauties. *Ikoku* was less comfortable because it was a neutral term – and so it was often collapsed back to allusions to China. *Oranda* was not appropriate because, even more so than *Ikoku*, it was not glamorous. However, as discussed below, the term *Oranda* was an ambivalent term, either derogatory or celebratory, which was integrated into poetic identities.

#### 2.4.2. Dutch Saikaku

The construction of eccentric identities with cartographic tropes was taken even further than idealizations of prostitutes. Ihara Saikaku appropriated the technique of identity construction

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<sup>162</sup> Ihara 1959 p. 12.

<sup>163</sup> See note 318.

<sup>164</sup> 君にたゞこかれこかるゝわたしふね・こいのみなとへよするおひかせ. Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 2 p. 402.

with tropes of cartographical periphery for his own poetic persona. Hirayama Tōgo had started out his career as Ihara Kakuei, a member of the Teimon circle of *haikai* poetry. Then, around 1670, he became a pupil of Nishiyama Sōin, a renga master from Osaka who established the Danrin style of poetry, and took on the name of Saikaku. Danrin school's unorthodox style of versification, mixing serious and vulgar registers, was dubbed the 'Dutch style,' initially by members of the rival Teimon school of poetry.<sup>165</sup> In the 1679 anthology *Haikai haja kensho* (俳諧破邪顕正 'Haikai Crush Evil and Reveal the Truth'), the poet Nakajima Zuiryū of the Teimon school referred to Sōin as 'the root of the Dutch style,' and to Saikaku as 'Dutch Saikaku.'<sup>166</sup>

This external label was then embraced by Saikaku, who took on the role of representative of the Dutch style: in the introduction to the 1678 anthology *Mitsu ganawa* (三つ鉄輪 'Iron Tripod'), Saikaku gave a definition of Dutch style verse as having 'an exquisite lofty form, with depth and novelty in the verses.'<sup>167</sup> In the 1679 Danrin school anthology *Kenka zuki* (見花数奇 'The Elegant Pastime of Viewing Flowers') from the following year, the compiler Saikoku launched the following verse: 'If cherry blossoms are called flowers then what do you use for the Dutch style?'<sup>168</sup> Saikaku replied with: 'In Japan there's the plum grandpa and this is the plum on his branch.'<sup>169</sup> Saikaku therefore acknowledged and supported the image of Sōin ('the plum grandpa') as the originator of the Dutch style.

However, Saikaku went further, absorbing this eccentric identity into his poetic persona. As early as the introduction to the 1678 compilation *Haikai dōbone* (俳諧胴骨 'The Backbone of Haikai') Saikaku stated: 'I'm floating the swift Dutch-style ship.'<sup>170</sup> Saikaku thus implied an alternative identity for himself as a Dutch sailor, in a similar process to that in the *haiga* from his Twelve Seasons scroll discussed earlier in this chapter.

Two years later, the very name of the Danrin *haikai* anthology *Orandamaru nibanbune* (阿蘭

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<sup>165</sup> The term had originally referred to the 'Dutch style medicine' originating from physicians of the East India Company stationed in Nagasaki - Nishijima 2001 p. 4. The most influential of these physicians was the German surgeon Caspar Schamberger (1623 - 1706), whose activity in Japan during 1649-1651 led to the practice of Caspar-style surgery (*kasuparu-ryū geka*) - see Michel 1996 and 2005 for an extended discussion.

<sup>166</sup> *Nihon haisho taikēi kankōkai* 1926 pp. 553-54. Schalow interprets this label as 'named after the foreign residents of Nagasaki who represented in their speech and dress everything that was outlandish to the Japanese' Ihara 1990 p. 14.

<sup>167</sup> 阿蘭陀流といへる俳諧は、其姿すぐれてけだかく、心ふかく詞新しく. Ihara 1950 p. 173.

<sup>168</sup> て以を何とは花阿蘭陀流は桜. Ihara 1950 p. 271.

<sup>169</sup> 日本に梅翁その枝の梅. Ihara 1950 p. 271.

<sup>170</sup> 爰におらんた流のはやふねをうかめ Ihara 1950 p. 36.

陀丸二番船 “Holland” Ship No. 2’) represented the entire poetic school in the image of a Dutch ship. The trope of Dutchness was thus associated with that of the ship in a twofold process of identity construction. Firstly in a collective sense: in the context of the Danrin group of poetic mavericks, an external derogatory term was integrated into their brand of vulgarization and nonconformism. Secondly, the Dutch ship was part of a process of identity construction in an individual sense, for Saikaku’s own poetic persona. Again, similarities emerge with Ryūsen’s later use of the trope of the ship in the construction of his own ‘Drifting Ship’ persona.

Thus, although it is true that at the end of the seventeenth century the idea of Europe was ‘no longer much of an intellectual and representational system,’<sup>171</sup> the word for ‘Holland’ could be employed as a marker of difference in complex processes of identity construction.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Screech 2012 p. 316.

<sup>172</sup> This excentric identity is in line with the self-identities of various Edo period artists, such as Chikamatsu, as discussed in Hirano 2014 pp. 57-8.

## Conclusion

The spatial imaginary of late seventeenth century vernacular culture had a narrative dimension which was informed both by the medieval imaginary featured in previous narrative formats and, more surprisingly, by the cartographic imaginary of woodblock-printed maps. Cartographic representations of foreignness shaped the urban public's concept of 'outside' and 'the other' by providing ready-made metaphors of spatial and ontological displacement which could be readily updated. The free-flow combinatory techniques of *haikai*-making were particularly appropriate for this adaptation. The medium of *haikai* provided the template for parallel experiments of adaptation in the narrative and visual format of 'floating world tales'.

Although in practice the urban audience of vernacular works was wider, the social category of 'merchants,' the lowest in the social hierarchy upheld by the Tokugawa shogunate, was ideologically central to the sources under analysis. From the point of view of space, merchants were most easily associated with foreignness due to their involvement with import goods. This association, though officially demeaning, was embraced as part of a larger phenomenon, in which low social status was compensated by conspicuous consumption and celebratory fantasies. The cultural production of the urban merchant class legitimated their social liminality by celebrating it. In this way they reversed the official set of values into 'another version of social entanglement.'<sup>173</sup>

In this context, cartographic tropes were one of the tools used to construct an identity which centred itself by celebrating its liminality. The fragments discussed above construct such a centring discourse by constantly featuring and playfully renegotiating the relationship between centre and periphery. This amounts to an entertaining attempt at relocating the centre of discourse. In other words, many of the above sources show an inversion of the value of the periphery – in certain contexts, the association with the periphery became an asset, and was associated with festivity and with identities autonomous from official rank. The following chapter explores the role of gender relations in this festive negotiation of identity.

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<sup>173</sup> Berry 2006 p. 247.

### Chapter 3. Cartographies of Alterity: Shape-shifting Women and Periaquatic Spaces

#### Introduction

This chapter analyses intersections between the spatial imaginary and notions of alterity, as adumbrated in the two previous chapters, with a specific category of the feminine. It focuses on periaquatic feminine spaces, by which I mean spaces characterized by a conspicuous feminine presence near the water. The most emblematic is the Island of Women, a fantastic territory which benefited from a sudden increase in the volume of publishing coupled with a fascination for prostitution quarters in the vernacular culture of late seventeenth century urban centres in the Japanese archipelago. Spaces such as the Island of Women emerged as nodes of alterity in a culture dominated by male authorship.<sup>174</sup> They revealed, through inversion, the normative concept of space and identity, while accumulating the potential to disturb the norm. They were often placed at the interface between the domain of everyday existence and other dimensions of experience, which I collectively refer to as 'the otherworld'.<sup>175</sup> This is highly relevant, indeed key to the topic of this thesis, since I shall propose the figure of the periaquatic woman as a primary signifier of spatial periphery in the period under discussion.

The otherworld was ambivalent.<sup>176</sup> On the one hand, it had negative connotations, translating into threat: liminal entities within the otherworld, such as demonic women, could shape-shift and threaten the male subject.<sup>177</sup> I call this the demonic value of the otherworld. On the other hand, the positive connotation of the otherworld translated into the promise of pleasure and salvation. I refer to this as the paradisaical value of the otherworld. As in many patriarchal societies, enhanced feminine presence was one of the attributes and enticements of ideal spaces. The overall pattern that emerges from the materials discussed in this chapter is that of women as intermediaries between different spaces of experience. This is expressed through their placement in liminal positions such as the periaquatic. Women's status as intermediaries meant that in all manner of other contexts, they were deemed to share the above-noted ambivalence which characterized the otherworld.

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<sup>174</sup> I use the terms 'alterity' and 'the Other' with the sense of an exterior entity necessary to the formulation of identity but never fully knowable, theorized in Levinas 1969.

<sup>175</sup> See Akasaka 1992 p. 258 and Komatsu 1995 pp. 98-126 for the feminine as a figure of alterity.

<sup>176</sup> See Mauckaire 2005 pp. 380-81, Komatsu 2003 pp. 13-15. This ambivalence was connected to the otherworld's periphereic location in relationship to the normative centre (Lin 2002 p. 386).

<sup>177</sup> I have never found an instance of the reverse, where the outside would be conceived as male and threatening to females.

This chapter traces the various configurations of feminine figures in relation to these counterpoising values. I argue that late seventeenth century urban culture witnessed a change in the relationship between the feminine Other and the spatial imaginary. From the feminine as attribute of the otherworld, the emphasis switched to the feminine, with the otherworld as one of its attributes.

I must clarify here that materials produced by women in the early modern period are scarce. The sources I discuss were part of a male-authored discourse that engendered a discourse of deviance regarding women's non-domestic work<sup>178</sup> while concomitantly projecting reductive male fantasies about alluring women. For example, while Nishikawa Sukenobu included a large variety of women's activities in his 1723 *Hyakunin jorō shina sadame* (百人女郎品定 'Commentaries on One Hundred Young Women'), all of them were depicted with conventionalized and often alluring poses.<sup>179</sup> The recovery of a historically accurate understanding of women's status and image is complicated by gender theory studies that draw attention to the cultural construction of the category of the feminine.<sup>180</sup> While the multiplicity of feminine voices was suppressed by this male-authored discourse, the threatening aspect of female subjectivity was always present. In the final part of the chapter I have conversely included discussions of examples in which the demonic value of the feminine burst into male fantasies.

In the first chapter I discussed the inclusion of imaginary spaces associated with female presence on woodblock-printed maps of Japan: the Land of Demons and the Island of Women. This chapter develops the analysis of these specific spaces, correlating their impact with examples of feminine spaces from other contemporary sources.

### **3.1. Women, Water and Wondrous Islands**

As in the case of a biological organism, the makeup of a cultural field is uncovered by the response to an external stimulus. What happens when an unforeseen Other appears? On 10th June and then again on 28th July 1643, the Dutch ship *Breskens* sailed into the bay of Yamada in the province of Nambu to request fresh water and supplies. Its crew had been sailing on a mission to locate a pair of islands belonging to the European imaginary: the Isle of Gold

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<sup>178</sup> Imai 2002.

<sup>179</sup> Reproduced in Suzuki 1979. See also Clark, Gerstle, Ishigami and Yano 2013 cat. 68.

<sup>180</sup> Pandey 2004 p. 224.

(Zipangu) and the Isle of Silver, and returned to the same bay after failing to locate them. Local documents reveal that the interaction with the inhabitants of the local fishing village included a feminine presence:

Ten pretty women from here were made, as a ruse, to board a welcoming boat and rowed over [to the foreign ship]. The sailors of the said Big Ship also boarded a boat to meet them and came to the ridge of Iioka. That night a feast was prepared for them [...] the matter of the reward for the women who boarded the welcome boat on this occasion also has been recognized and recorded on the separate sheet.<sup>181</sup>

This welcome party might have included ‘specialists for the divine ... wandering shamans (*miko*) or nuns (*bikuni*),’ and might thus have had a sacred significance for the inhabitants of the village of Yamada.<sup>182</sup> We find these feminine ‘specialists of the divine’ in a page from the 1666 *Kinmō zui* (訓蒙図彙 ‘Illustrated Encyclopaedia’), grouped with a shrine maiden, a Buddhist priest and a diviner as liminal categories of humanity (fig. 24).<sup>183</sup> I therefore propose that alongside their sacred significance, the feminine welcome party also mediated between ‘home’ and ‘foreign’ categories of identity.<sup>184</sup> To deal with the appearance of alterity, the villagers employed persons whose gender already conferred them a corresponding degree of alterity. The liminal status of these women was reflected spatially, in the liminal position of the site of interaction: the water’s edge.

The examples above show that a medieval gendering of space persisted into the beginning of the early modern period. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the urban spatial imaginary of the late seventeenth will very much develop against the background of these medieval patterns.

### 3.2. Changes in the Last Decades of the Seventeenth Century

Three developments changed the earlier configuration of feminine space. Firstly, after the 1640s, contact with the outside world was drastically reduced. The Tokugawa rulers issued a

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<sup>181</sup> Hesselink 2002 pp. 37, 44.

<sup>182</sup> Hesselink 2002 p. 45.

<sup>183</sup> Toby 1998 p. 33.

<sup>184</sup> Inspired by Teng 1998 p. 369.



series of edicts that prohibited travel to and from the Japanese archipelago with the exception of specific trade exchanges. This led to a shift of interest from the exterior to the interior of the home territory. Secondly, the society was increasingly regulated, with women's roles compartmentalized into either the domestic (the reproductive wife) or the commercial (the entertaining prostitute). Thirdly, an emergent urban culture shifted the cultural pole from the old capital to the new city of Edo, with a concomitant movement of norms and expectations. A main component of this phenomenon was a publishing boom that adapted what had been an elite cultural content to the pragmatic and pleasure-seeking values of the merchant class, otherwise excluded from politics and other areas of decision-making.

Within urban culture, the developments outlined above impacted the relationship between the feminine Other and the otherworld. This is visible on Ishikawa Ryūsen's 1687 'Outline Map of Our Realm,' that updated the format of medieval maps into a widely distributed iconic image of the home territory. The update included the reconfiguration of the imaginary of foreignness: to the south of Ryūsen's map appeared a territory doubly named: 'Land of Demons' and 'Island of Women' (fig. 2).<sup>185</sup> The double label can be interpreted as the eroticization of the feminine Other that had accompanied the demonic value of the otherworld on medieval maps.<sup>186</sup> As discussed in the first chapter, the ambiguity of the annotation of Land of Demons on Gyōki-type maps lent itself to the blending of erotic and paradisaical valences with the original demonic element. Furthermore, the doubly named territory was more than a conflation of elements of a medieval imaginary archipelago. I argue that this composite territory stood for all aquatic otherworlds that did not fit into the visual scheme of Ryūsen's centripetal template.

An example of the polyvalence of otherworlds immediately preceding the period of Ryūsen's map is the iconography of Mount Penglai. I will compare illustrations to two versions of the 'Tales of Penglai'. The first closely follows the mid-seventeenth century text in showing Mount Penglai as a rock on the back of several turtles (fig. 25). The inclusion of exotic birds and plants continues the medieval practice of attributing paradisaical features to a variety of otherworlds. Among them is a wondrous creature, half bird half woman. At origin, this is the *kalavinka* bird<sup>187</sup> believed to reside in the Pure Land paradise of *Amitābha*.<sup>188</sup> Shape-shifted feminine

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<sup>185</sup> 羅刹国 jp. *Rasetsukoku*, in the variant 羅列国, and 女嶋 jp. *Nyogashima*. Toby 2001 p. 35, and especially Moerman 2009, which informs the discussion in this paragraph.

<sup>186</sup> Sugiura 1979 p. 18.

<sup>187</sup> 迦陵頻伽 jp. *Karyōbinga*.

presence was thus employed as marker of the paradisaical value of Mount Penglai.

Another version from the 1660s is less generic (fig. 26).<sup>189</sup> Besides the exotic birds and plants, the depiction of the island features the blue-green landscape painting style, customarily used for the depiction of ideal spaces.<sup>190</sup> However, this version looks less Penglai-like: the island has low-lying shores, with no turtles in sight. Only women inhabitants are depicted, in sensuous poses, flowing robes and bare snow-white skin. The presence of the mandarin ducks in the pond, a symbol of conjugal love, adds an erotic overtone reinforced by the curving waves. What results is in effect very similar to an Island of Women. If this island were figured on a map of the Japanese archipelago, it would appear on the southern edge with a double name: Mount Penglai / Island of Women.

The extirpation of the underlying threat contained in periaquatic feminine spaces can be observed in an early seventeenth century illustration of the Island of Women episode from 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands' (fig. 27). The boat-faring male character arrives from the right side of the picture and encounters three ladies clad in elegant Chinese robes. The demonic element has been omitted. Depicted instead is an idyllic setting with sensual overtones. There is an abundance of soft curved lines: in the curly waves, the bow of the boat, the arches of the reeds forming an additional disclosing device, paralleled by the contour of the island area. The reeds reach out toward the curving dress of the back-arching woman on the right. The triadic hazy lobes of the women's hairlocks are quivering with animation. The round floral motifs of the woman in the middle echo the patterns of Yoshitsune's robe and the round vegetation on the tree to the left. The trunk next to the ladies suggests strength and vigour usually associated with male figures, and stands in contrast to the feeble reeds next to Yoshitsune. This amounts to an inversion of expectations that forebodes the threat of dissection poised to Yoshitsune further in the text.

Despite the rendering of the trunk, the threatening women inhabitants of the Island of Women from the text are here illustrated as unambiguously alluring foreign ladies. This iconographical variation is orchestrated by the visual structure of the image. In the visual

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<sup>188</sup> 阿弥陀 j.p. Amida. It appears, for example, in the highly influential visual format of the eighth century Taima Mandara (Ten Grotenhuis 1999 pp. 15-16).

<sup>189</sup> The dating is based on textual similarities to the 1664 printed edition. See Ishikawa 2005 p. 59. For the lineage of versions of 'Tales of Penglai,' see Matsumoto 1982 p. 127 and Pigeot, Kosugi and Satake 1993 p. 186. I have discussed this issue in Leca 2010.

<sup>190</sup> Vinograd 1979 pp. 103-4.

idiom of the medieval scroll format inherited by ‘companion tales,’ the pictorial space moves from the right plane of the known to the left plane of the unknown.<sup>191</sup> Figure 27 follows this convention, suggesting that the male protagonist is sailing from the home territory (space of identity) to an imaginary island (space of alterity). In other words, the visual structure of the image already identifies the Island of Women as an otherworld. This is compounded by gender coding: the exclusively feminine presence functions as a heightened marker of alterity for this periaquatic space.

The illustration is also noteworthy for what it does not contain: there is no trace of architecture. The island is defined by its inhabitants. In technical terms, this is due to the reduction in the size of the image format, which foregrounded character interaction.<sup>192</sup> I argue that this characteristic is indicative of a larger trend. Pre-seventeenth century examples had featured periaquatic otherworlds in which feminine figures were merely one of the elements within the enchanting accumulation of alterity.<sup>193</sup> Here, however, the feminine Other is foregrounded and takes central stage in the configuration of the otherworld.

Although the above illustration was produced in the same decade as the Nambu incident, it differs in a few crucial elements which would come into their own a few decades later. On the one hand, the pattern of associating the feminine Other with periaquatic spaces was maintained. On the other hand, the sacred dimension present in the worldview of Nambu’s rural population lost prominence in the Yoshitsune illustration. The encounter with the inhabitants of a periaquatic space was beautifully illustrated in a book intended for consumption in an urban environment. In this context, entertainment and visual allure took precedence over the sacred dimension. In the discussion to follow, examples from a few decades later testify to the impact of this commercial urban context on an emerging preoccupation with the feminine Other.

### **3.3. Tales for Women**

The original late medieval audience of ‘companion tales’ had ranged across social

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<sup>191</sup> This is in accordance with the right to left direction of writing (Kuroda 1996).

<sup>192</sup> Shirane 2013 p. 13.

<sup>193</sup> For example, the visualization of the ‘Land of Demons’ on the frontispiece of a 1257 Kannon Sutra, discussed in Meech-Pekarik 1981 pp. 114-15 and illustrated in Watanabe and Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011 pp. 6, 8-9.

categories.<sup>194</sup> However, the burgeoning publishing industry after the middle of the seventeenth century catered to the tastes of the emerging urban commoner class, in which the feminine audience played an increasingly important role.<sup>195</sup> Medieval ‘companion tales’ were repackaged as dowry items for the instruction of young women of the upper merchant class.<sup>196</sup> This was related to their apotropaic value: they were activated by oral recital of their auspicious endings, which was thought to ensure the success of the marriage.<sup>197</sup> This development had two consequences: firstly, a focus on the auspicious elements of ‘companion tales,’ as exemplified by the content of the aforementioned ‘Tales of Penglai;’ secondly, alterations in the content of the stories towards a protagonisation of female characters.

The latter consequence is visible in seventeenth century Japanese adaptations of Bai Juyi’s ninth century poem *Chōgonka* (長恨歌 ‘Song of Everlasting Sorrow’). It is the account of the tragic love story between the Tang emperor Xuanzong and his concubine Yang Guifei (楊貴妃 jp. *Yōkihi*), killed by enemy troops and residing in Mount Penglai after her death. While the plot originally revolved around the emperor’s grief, the seventeenth century Japanese version focused on the biography of the main female character and was accordingly titled *Yōkihi monogatari* (楊貴妃物語 ‘The Story of Yang Guifei’). It sparked a renewed popularity of Yang Guifei at all levels of society.<sup>198</sup> The selection of biographical episodes in ‘The Story of Yang Guifei’ was meant to serve as moral instruction for the ideal life of a woman.<sup>199</sup> Equally important as textual elements were visual enhancers of auspiciousness, such as the insertion of the conjugal trope of ‘two birds wingtip to wingtip, two branches intertwined’ in illustrations to

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<sup>194</sup> Ruch 1971 p. 596.

<sup>195</sup> Kornicki, Patessio and Rowley 2010 p. 2: ‘it is undeniable that women were a recognizable segment of the commercial market for books before the seventeenth century was over.’ Mostow 2010 and Itasaka 2010 make similar arguments based on instances of women reading in illustrations to classical texts and *ukiyo-e* images, respectively.

<sup>196</sup> Fujikake 1987 pp.151, 184-85. For example, Shibukawa’s 1711 ‘companion tale’ compilation was advertised as bridal trousseau gifts and ‘a convenient guide on self-improvement for women’ (Ruch 1971 p. 594).

<sup>197</sup> Shirane 2013 p. 9. For an example of an auspicious ending affixed to a medieval story in the seventeenth century see Ruch 1971 p. 600.

<sup>198</sup> It was illustrated in a lavish scroll version by the prestigious painter Kano Sansetsu (McCausland and McKelway 2009), featured in a puppet play (Nakagawa Graham 1990), and inserted incongruently in vernacular tales such as *Zeraku monogatari* (是楽物語 ‘The Story of Zeraku’) (Moretti 2010 p. 335, original text and illustration in Kikuchi, Tomida and Wada 2008 pp. 114-15).

<sup>199</sup> Muraki 2009 p. 54.

the story.<sup>200</sup> The conspicuous feminine presence in the illustrations can thus be interpreted as contributing to the amount of auspiciousness required by the use of the story as a wedding gift by a female readership. The protagonisation of female characters in illustrations such as figures 26 and 27 can be seen as an attempt at correlating the conspicuous femininity of the wedding context with a correspondingly conspicuous feminine content.

The intended audience of newly-wed merchant daughters was supposed to be constituted of proper wives who engaged in sexual relations only for reproduction. The expensive dowry scrolls were intended to be sensually appealing, but only inasmuch as a wife would appear to her groom. However, the excess of sensuality in the depiction of inhabitants of periaquatic spaces in figures 26 and 27 reveals an important feature of these materials: although the stories were meant to be read and seen by women, they were imagined and produced by men. They were part of a male discourse that structured the social imaginary of female roles along a wife-prostitute dichotomy.<sup>201</sup> Although, as seen in these examples, the dichotomy was not always neatly implemented, it was reflected in a dual modality of visualizing the feminine Other. The sexual content drained from the auspicious stories intended for young brides was channelled towards the sexualized feminine Other, the prostitute. This became the focus of a type of fiction later categorized as *ukiyo zōshi* (浮世草子 'floating world tales').

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ihara Saikaku's 1682 'Life of an Amorous Man' has been considered the pioneering work in this genre. In the third volume, Yonosuke arrives in the outlying island of Sado, where he becomes involved with a local prostitute. When Yonosuke eventually has to leave, she along with other prostitutes see him off to the shore (fig. 28). The illustration by Hishikawa Moronobu to the 1684 Edo edition of the text is structured around triads: three grounds, three peaks in the distance, three women and three men. This echoes the triadic structure of the illustration to Yoshitsune's arrival on the Island of Women discussed above (fig. 27). The folds of the valleys act as a disclosing element for the feminine characters, and parallel the folds of their dress and curve of their bodies. This is in contrast with the straight lines of the men's swords, stick and oar, as well as the parallel lines that render the shore.

The visual pattern previously assigned to meetings between male travellers and women inhabitants of a periaquatic otherworld is here employed in a contemporary scenario involving

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<sup>200</sup> 連理の枝、比翼の鳥 Muraki 2009 p. 66.

<sup>201</sup> Wells 2013 p. 211, Stanley 2012 pp. 45-49.

prostitutes. The illustration might have been influenced by illustrations of the legend of Itsukushima shrine (fig. 29). They visualise a theophany: in the time of Emperor Suiko, Saiki no Kuramoto was fishing off in the island of Okanoshima, when a boat with crimson sails approached. In it were three goddesses 女神. One of them identified herself as the deity of Itsukushima island and instructed Saiki to go to the emperor and ask for the construction of a shrine on Itsukushima.<sup>202</sup> As in ‘companion tales,’ the original text was of medieval origin, while the visual source was contemporary: Saikaku might have alluded to the same image in his illustration of a story about a visit to the prostitution quarter located on the island of Itsukushima, from the work by his pupil Sairoken Kyōsen, the 1686 *Kindai yasainja* 近代艶隠者 ‘Recent Stylish Recluses’) (fig. 30). The visual narrative is the same – gender-clustered triads, the exchange of glances along a diagonal line (here reinforced by the oar), the beckoning gesture of one of the women towards the men. Deities are playfully substituted with prostitutes. In a larger sense, this is about the transfer of transcendental attributes (including associations with the otherworld) to prostitutes for the purposes of entertainment. The structure of figure 30 is similar to figure 27: the same gender clustering, the women associated with a larger spatial unit. Likewise similar are the exchange of glances and the gesture of one of the women towards the male protagonist. But the direction is inverted. Moronobu’s image no longer follows the conventions of the painted scroll which had informed the illustration to Yoshitsune’s voyages and to ‘Tales of Penglai.’ This is because the reference is now to contemporary book illustrations.<sup>203</sup> The image has emerged as an autonomous visual narrative cell, indicative of a new identity of the feminine Other: the alluring prostitute.

From the point of view of narrative structure, the visual suggestion of a space of ambivalent feminine alterity corresponds to the liminal status of the male protagonist’s identity. In the middle of ‘Life of an Amorous Man,’ Yonosuke’s life is at a turning point. His liminal identity is marked by a series of encounters with alterity, including feminine figures such as Kogane, in peripheral locations. This blend of topological and ontological liminality is reminiscent of the discussion of alternative identities in the previous chapter, and is indeed exemplified by Kogane’s parting words to Yonosuke: ‘You seem as if you’re not from Japan.’

It is important to acknowledge its debt to narrative patterns from ‘companion tales’ on the late seventeenth-century vernacular prose works of which Saikaku’s are representative. Thus,

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<sup>202</sup> See Reed 1880 p. 123.

<sup>203</sup> The relationship between paintings and prints in Moronobu’s work is discussed in chapter four.

after his adventure in Sado, in the fifth volume Yonosuke marries the high-ranking prostitute Yoshino. This might have constituted the epilogue of the first version of the text.<sup>204</sup> Indeed, the first five volumes correspond to a narrative pattern inherited from the ‘companion tale’ scenario of *ikyō hōmontan* (‘story of visit to another land’), that features a male character traveling to a territory outside the capital and then returning home to an auspicious denouement. The inclusion of a familiar narrative pattern would have made the story more recognizable and more appealing to the contemporary audience.<sup>205</sup>

Most of Saikaku’s stories are characterised by a similar circular spatial structure, which originates in the capital, ventures to the outskirts of the home territory, and returns to the capital in the end.<sup>206</sup> In this sense, the open ending of Saikaku’s first ‘floating world tale’ is exceptional. Yonosuke departs for the Island of Women on a boat loaded with aphrodisiacs and sexual devices (fig. 12).<sup>207</sup> Saikaku’s innovation lies in the twist to a narrative pattern that his readers would have been familiar with from ‘companion tales.’ Kogane’s parting words - ‘you seem as if you’re not from Japan’ - now seem prescient of Yonosuke’s eventual outcome.<sup>208</sup>

However, Saikaku returns to the familiar circular spatial structure in the beginning of his second ‘floating world tale,’ the 1684 *Kōshoku nidai otoko shoen ōkagami* (好色二代男 諸艶大鏡 ‘Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man’).<sup>209</sup> It begins with Yonosuke’s son falling asleep on New Year’s Eve while

watching the first breeze of spring flutter a strand of the golden sash caught in the hairs of the shrimp on the northern side of the sandy beach of the Mount Penglai decoration. Then, a flying being of unusual plumage appeared, saying ‘I am a bird of beauty living in the Land of Women 女護国. Your earthly father, Yonosuke, has wondrously crossed over to that shore, and is talking sweet things with the Queen in the jewelled pavilion, and is therefore unlikely to return. However, because of the deep filial bond he feels, he is bestowing upon you the secret teachings of lovemaking’ and slipped a scroll

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<sup>204</sup> Someya 1982 pp. 203-4.

<sup>205</sup> Someya 1982 p. 207.

<sup>206</sup> Mori 2001 p. 17.

<sup>207</sup> The final paragraph is quoted in the previous chapter.

<sup>208</sup> Hinotani 1989 p. 49, Mori 2001 p. 17.

<sup>209</sup> Hereafter referred to as ‘Great Mirror of Beauties.’

into his left sleeve.

In Saikaku's first prose work, the Island of Women had provided the end bracket to Yonosuke's life, marking his apotheosis at the significant age of sixty. In this second work, the Island of Women again has temporal significance: it appears at the start of the year, framing the entire narrative. The end frame is the protagonist's eventual attainment of Buddhahood, with prostitutes revealed as Bodhisattvas. The looser structure of Saikaku's second 'floating world tale' is therefore held together by framing elements characterized by auspiciousness, temporal and spatial transgression, and the presence of the fantastic feminine.

The passage quoted above continues with Yonosuke's son waking up from his first dream of the year and pondering upon his father 'crossing the perilous sea, over to that bleak Women Island.'<sup>210</sup> This is no longer about the danger of being eaten by demons. In this sense, this episode reverts to the narrative pattern of visiting the otherworld and of bringing back a treasure, familiar from 'companion tales.'<sup>211</sup> In this case, the treasure is a scroll with secret erotic techniques, possibly a reference to the martial scroll that Yoshitsune sets out for in 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands.'<sup>212</sup> Yonosuke ends up stuck outside the narrative loop. The reference to the 'bleak Women Island' is thus less about a threat, and more about the loneliness of exile and the prospect of Yonosuke never returning to homeland Japan.

The falling back on 'companion tale' scenarios is also visible in the illustration of the episode (fig. 31). It depicts the messenger from the Island of Women as a *kalavinka* bird. Similarly to the story of Urashima,<sup>213</sup> a shape-shifted feminine presence is here acting as an intermediary between this world and the otherworld.

A further example of the inheritance from 'companion tales' is the direct influence of the

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<sup>210</sup> 女嶋 Ihara 2000 p. 181.

<sup>211</sup> Mori 2002 p. 33.

<sup>212</sup> Minowa 1991 p. 27.

<sup>213</sup> An eighth century tale of a fisherman who comes across a turtle that turns out to be a beautiful young princess. She takes him to Mount Penglai (or Dragon Palace in later versions) where they live happily for three years, until Urashima gets homesick. The princess entrusts him with a box under strict prohibition of opening it. Three years in Mount Penglai is equivalent to three hundred years in earth time, so Urashima finds his village totally changed. He then opens the box and dies. See summary and discussion in Hino 2012 pp. 14-18. For a comprehensive study of Urashima's tale in English, see McKeon 1996.



‘companion tale’ *Bontenkoku* (梵天国 ‘The Land of Brahma’) on Saikaku’s writings.<sup>214</sup> Saikaku owned a scroll with the text of this story.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, a reference to it was included in the tale which follows after the introduction to his 1684 ‘Great Mirror of Beauties.’ The setting is of two male customers chatting at night on a lonely stretch of the road to Shimabara, Osaka’s pleasure district:

I wonder what time of night it is. They said keep going straight, you’ll reach  
Shimabara’s gate soon. When is soon? It must be in Demon Land. I wonder if  
we hop on the Thousand-League Flying Cart, will we end up too far?

In the text of ‘The Land of Brahma,’ the daughter of the King of Brahma escapes from *Rasetsukoku*<sup>216</sup> by climbing into a Thousand-League Flying Cart (figs. 32, 33). Saikaku’s text thus referred to a familiar ‘companion tale’ within a liminal setting, both temporally - an indeterminate hour in the night - and spatially - the way to the prostitution quarters. The demonic value did make an appearance here, but as no more than a pun. Its association with the prostitution quarters introduced expectations of pleasure, and not of peril. The paradisaical and the demonic value of periaquatic otherworlds already present within ‘companion tales’ thus informed the production of ‘floating world tales,’ which refashioned these old tropes into witty metaphors of the urban culture of the time.

### 3.4. Island Fantasies

‘Companion tales’ were not the only materials which Saikaku was reworking into his writings. The historical chronicle *Hōjō godaiki* (北条五大記 ‘Record of Five Generations of the Hōjō Family’) also provided narrative elements for Saikaku’s first ‘floating world tale.’ One episode in particular may have provided the inspiration for Yonosuke’s departure for the Island of Women. The scenario is one of annexation: Asaina and Akira sail off to Hachijo island in the

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<sup>214</sup> A love story between the son of the Kannon deity enshrined in the capital’s Kiyomizu temple and the daughter of the King of the Land of Brahma.

<sup>215</sup> Saikaku’s seal appears at the end of the scroll. This means that it was either copied by Saikaku himself, or at least in Saikaku’s possession. See Someya 1982 pp. 205-6 quoting Yokoyama 1962a pp. 472-73.

<sup>216</sup> ‘Demon Land,’ familiar from Gyōki-type maps of Japan but here only a place name without direct association to the story of the man-eating demons.

southern seas, and obtain the allegiance of its people to the district of Shimoda in the Izu Peninsula. The text elaborates on the enthusiastic welcome of the women of the island, such that many among the crew members did not want to return and had to be threatened by sword in order to get back on the ship.<sup>217</sup> The episode enjoyed a degree of popularity: besides inspiring Saikaku, it was later adapted into a puppet play. Its text was then published with illustrations in 1698, thus providing a glimpse at the visual imaginary of the inhabitants of Hachijo Island (fig. 34).

The right side of the double page spread shows Asaina, Akira, and one of their retainers arriving on the island. On the facing page is depicted the male ruler of the island and his attendants bowing in submission, and a group of four women, two of whom are glancing backward. The caption reads: 'The women of Hachijo Island rejoice.' One of them is carrying two rolls of silk, which represent the tribute paid by the island as a sign of their allegiance. Hachijo had long been associated with the production of textiles. The mention of rolls of silk in the original text of the 'Record of Five Generations of the Hōjō Family' might have also inspired Saikaku for his illustration of the erotic scroll in 'Great Mirror of Beauties' (fig. 31). In the 1698 illustration, the hybrid iconography of femininity is intriguing: one of the women is in Chinese dress, the other in classical court dress. This conflation of the sartorial vocabulary of feminine alterity combines temporal separation through the classical court robes with spatial and social separation through the Chinese dress.

I would like to delve deeper into the mechanisms of this process, in a bid to grasp the configuration of the heterogenous category of the feminine. For this, I will use Barthes's discussion of the 'rhetoric' of the image as a block of signifiers loosely bound together by denotation. Barthes calls these signifiers 'connotators.'<sup>218</sup> In the New Year's dream of Yonosuke's son, the Mount Penglai decoration and the *kalavinka* bird pointed to a paradisaical value. The mention of the sorrowful fate of Yonosuke in 'that bleak Island of Women' was the faint shadow of the previous demonic value. And the scroll held by the *kalavinka* bird had an erotic content. This heterogenous set of connotators (erotic, demonic, paradisaical) associated with the category of the feminine was constantly being shuffled around to accommodate various agendas. On medieval Gyōki-type maps, the reference to man-eating female inhabitants of the Land of Demons had been informed by the medieval Buddhist doctrine of salvation. In

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<sup>217</sup> Yokoyama 1979 pp. 363-65.

<sup>218</sup> Barthes 1977 pp. 49-51

the case of Yonosuke's son, his New Year's Dream was part of a 'floating world tale' which celebrated the liminality of the urban subject. This had also been the case with Yonosuke's departure for the Island of Women. However, in 'Life of an Amorous Man' the set of connotators was used metaphorically, drawing attention upon itself. It made the reader reflect upon one's own set of connotators by saying 'I don't even have to spell it out, you are so used to making these associations that all I need to do is provide you with a fragmentary set of connotators.' This brevity of reference was in keeping with linked verse associational techniques, and reveals the communicative complexity of Saikaku's production. At the same time, the fragmentary reference to the Island of Women is indicative of a fading interest in periaquatic otherworlds. By promoting the Island of Women as Yonosuke's ultimate destination, Saikaku implied a kinship with Yonosuke's previous destinations: prostitution quarters all around Japan. The set of connotators previously assigned to spaces outside the home territory came to be employed reflectively for spaces at the urban periphery.

The rhetoric of 'floating world tales' is that of the often precarious worldly success of the male subject. This rhetoric is achieved by the emphasis on two classes of connotators: the commercial and the erotic. And nowhere are these connotators better intertwined than in the imagery of newly fashionable prostitution quarters such as Shimabara in Osaka or Yoshiwara in Edo. In the worldview of Saikaku's works, everything had a monetary value. Money equalled women equalled things.<sup>219</sup> It is worth recalling Yonosuke's words before sailing off: 'Our destination is the Island of Women. The one with only women living on it. There'll be so many women there, well, all you'll have to do is reach out your arms.' *Tsukamidori*, the expression used for 'reaching out your arms,' originally meant easy money, but Yonosuke used it to refer to the inhabitants of the Island of Women. The otherworld and its inhabitants were thus integrated into a commercial network.

A poignant example of this phenomenon is a story from the anonymous 1686 'floating world tale' *Asakusa shūi monogatari* (浅草拾遺物語 'Tales Gathered from Asakusa'). It reiterates the narrative scenario of a male character travelling to the otherworld and returning with a treasure (fig. 35).<sup>220</sup> A fisherman encounters a beautiful woman in the bay of Itsukushima. She steers his boat towards the Island of Women. There he is entertained by more beautiful women, and then gifted a magic potion that he begins selling upon his return. The

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<sup>219</sup> Mori 2002 p. 15.

<sup>220</sup> Hinotani 1989 pp. 87-88.

story is very similar to that of Urashima. The twist is in the insertion of the commercial aspect – instead of taking the ‘treasure’ back and offering it to the emperor, the main character now sells it. For the late seventeenth century urban audience, even a magic potion from a fantastic land could be commercialized.

On the other hand, the erotic possibilities of Yonosuke’s journey to the Island of Women were borne out in another anonymous ‘floating world tale’ from 1692, *Kōshoku haru no akebono* (好色春のあけぼの ‘The Amorous Dawn of Spring’). A lusty man from Akashi hears of Yonosuke having crossed the sea to the Island of Women, and sets out in his own boat. After fifty days, he reaches an island entirely configured in the feminine gender:

you could only hear the cries of female birds on tree tops, and there were no male birds to be seen. You could also only hear the cry of female deer frolicking in the mountains, there were no male deer. There were likewise only female pines, and no male [high] waves reached the shore. This must be the Island of Women.<sup>221</sup>

He is greeted by a woman who tells him how Yonosuke had died of sexual exhaustion long ago. The lusty man from Akashi is not deterred by the news of Yonosuke’s demise, so he is escorted inside the island, passing through a row of houses whose female inhabitants beg him to stop by. He is taken to the female Master of the Island, who offers him a lavish welcome that includes sexual activity.

Though no direct mention to Yang Guifei is made in the text, the narrative setting of an empress with female attendants parallels that of Yang Guifei in Mount Penglai.<sup>222</sup> This allusion is carried over in the illustration that shows a backward-glancing feminine figure playing the flute (fig. 36). This might be an allusion to Yang Guifei, often depicted playing the flute for Emperor Huizong, with erotic connotations. The motif of two birds wingtip to wingtip that had been featured in ‘companion tales’ has also been eroticized – there is only one bird each, including the long-tailed bird whose tail movement carries ancient erotic connotations.<sup>223</sup> This imagined periaquatic space is the opposite of conjugal normality – this is the land of sexual pleasure for

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<sup>221</sup> Nakajima 2004 p. 54.

<sup>222</sup> The eroticization of Yang Guifei detectable here parallels a process already apparent in late Ming prints (Lin 2009 p. 159).

<sup>223</sup> Clark, Gerstle, Ishigami and Yano 2013 cat. 1 p. 48.

the solitary male.

Indeed, instead of a paradisaical utopia as in the previous examples of illustrations to 'companion tales,' this 'floating world tale' version of the Island of Women is an inversion of contemporary social practices. The row of houses lined with lusty women provides a sublimation of the island-like spaces of the urban prostitution quarters.<sup>224</sup> This includes male fantasies of alternative modes of female procreation: to get pregnant, the women in this version of the Island of Women sleep with pictures of beautiful men in their bed sheets. The ending features the common 'floating world tale' strategy of giving a twist to 'companion tale' scenarios: the lusty man of Akashi grows homesick and is given a box under strict prohibition of opening it, just like in the story of Urashima. But piqued by curiosity, the man opens it, unleashing an outpour of white liquid that wilts his mighty penis.

### **3.5. Enclosures and Identities**

This chapter has discussed intersections between the feminine Other and the spatial imaginary in two areas of late seventeenth century literary production. Firstly, in 'companion tales,' an increasingly female audience lead to the feminization of both its textual and visual content. Secondly, in the emerging genre of 'floating world tales,' the content of 'companion tales' was concomitantly sampled and repackaged for contemporary urban audiences. This repackaging involved the addition of two elements: the commercial and the erotic. Within these areas of literary production, the ontological ambivalence of the feminine was foregrounded, and eclipsed the topological ambivalence of the otherworld.

I argue that these examples testify to a change in the nature of the spatial imaginary within the urban culture of the time. The concept of the space around and within the home territory was being redefined. Ryūsen's map of Japan testifies to a restriction of the cartographic gaze around Japan. There was conversely an increased preoccupation with the space within the home territory. From being out there, beyond normal experience, the Other was brought closer, within reach, where it began to be integrated into social interactions in a commercial context. Within this process, the otherworld became disassociated from cartographic periphery and compressed into the category of the feminine.

A poignant example of the change in the spatial imaginary is the description of the prostitute

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<sup>224</sup> As discussed in the fourth chapter, Edo's prostitution quarter, Yoshiwara, was mostly accessed by boat after its relocation north near the Sumida river in 1657.

Teika from the 1681 prostitute critique *Yoshiwara sancha sanbuku ittsumi* (吉原三茶三幅一對 'Three Pairs in the Three Yoshiwara Tea Rooms'<sup>225</sup>): 'When she gets excited [late at night], she forgets to go back, and Brahma (jp. Bonten) comes out.'<sup>226</sup> The reference to Bonten implied the spatial displacement of the prostitution quarters to the 'Land of Brahma,' just as in the previous example of the Thousand League Flying Cart. But this displacement was mediated by the transformation of the identity of the female host. It is reasonable to assume that, in this context, the term 'Bonten' triggered associations with the Paradise Bird often featured in illustrations to 'Land of Brahma.' This would mean that visual representations of inhabitants of otherworlds still shaped images of femininity as they had done for illustrations to 'companion tales.'

The innovation in late seventeenth century artistic production was the focus on the transformation of identity, in this case that of the prostitute, for the pleasure of the solitary man. The collapse of spatial displacement onto the shifting identity of the feminine figure implied an accompanying transformation of identity on the part of the male subject. Instead of travelling to the otherworld, the male subject accomplished a transformation of identity by encountering the feminine Other in the context of the prostitution quarters. In the illustration to Yoshitsune's sojourn in the Island of Women (fig. 20), a distant otherworld had been defined in terms of its feminine inhabitants. Teika's description took this process one step further. While the ambivalence of the feminine was still present, it became much more accessible to immediate social interaction. The feminine figure itself became the signifier of the otherworld. Put simply, the shift was from the feminine as an attribute of the otherworld in 'companion tales,' to the otherworld as an attribute of femininity in 'floating world tales.'

This change in the nature of the feminine Other can be described in terms of Deleuzian ontology. When discussing the nature of thought, Deleuze makes the distinction between 'objects of recognition' and 'objects of encounter.'<sup>227</sup> The former designate automatic thought processes based on social conventions and pre-established knowledge. The latter refer to radical experiences which transform previous modes of thought. Among the sources discussed in this chapter, most of the representations of the Island of Women or similar periaquatic otherworlds were comprised of objects of recognition. In contrast, Yonosuke's departure for the

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<sup>225</sup> See note 318.

<sup>226</sup> Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 1 p. 273.

<sup>227</sup> Deleuze 1994 p. 139.

Island of Women configured a moment of encounter with the ambiguous set of connotators polarized by the Island of Women. It is relevant that, in this case, the Island of Women was not represented – objects of encounter do not fit into conventions of representation, which results either in visual absence, as in this case, or, as discussed below, in a hybrid, ill-formed representation.

The ambivalence of the feminine figure was at its most potent in such scenarios of encounter, inherited from narratives of geographic peripheries. The oscillation of the feminine figure cracked the shell of the male subject, transforming his identity. This could be a traumatic experience. The dichotomic allotments of the feminine gender within male discourse were not always successful in containing the feminine Other. Women's voices were suppressed, but the ambivalence of the category of the feminine constructed by male psychology resisted closure. Despite the tendency towards the idealization and eroticization of female figures, the demonic value survived the processes occurring throughout the seventeenth century. The moralizing character of Buddhist stories about demons shape-shifting into beautiful women infiltrated in the genre of 'prostitute critiques,' such as in the 1631 *Sosoro Monogatari* (そゝろ物語 'Aimless Tales'): 'Truly I say, a woman's outer appearance is that of a Bodhisattva, but her spirit is that of a demon, really.'<sup>228</sup> The threatening duality of the feminine gender persisted while being transferred to descriptions of the psychological structure of contemporary prostitutes.

Decades later, the moralizing element disappeared, but the threat of annihilation of male identity remained. To give an example from Saikaku's 'Tales of an Amorous Man,' at the juncture of Yonosuke's life he is attacked by feminine ghosts of his past affairs. Having stopped overnight at a friend's house,

he had not managed to warm up [under the cover] or close his eyes, when something with the head of a woman and feet of a bird started descending a ladder from the first floor. Its body undoubtedly that of a fish, it spoke with a voice like waves lapping on the shore: 'Yonosuke, have you forgotten about me? Let me remind you of the passion of Koman, from the Koiya house of Ishigaki ward!' He pulled his sword from under the pillow, cut away and felt the impact in his arm, but then it vanished. Behind him, a woman cried from her beak: 'I am the spirit of Ohatsu, the daughter of the woodcutter Kichisuke. You told me we would be "two

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<sup>228</sup> Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 1 p. 26.

birds wingtip to wingtip”, and then left me to die of grief’ it said, flew at him, and he cut it up. From one corner of the garden, a woman around six meters long with hands and feet like maple leaves spoke with the voice of howling wind: ‘Since you took me to see the autumn leaves at Mount Takao, I chose you to spend my life with, and poisoned my previous husband, but you forsook me before long. Do you remember Jirokichi’s wife?’ and tried to bite, but he crouched and cut it up. By this time, his eyes had darkened and his powers had ran out, already thinking that he had reached the end of this fleeting life. When again, a rope 30 meters long with a woman’s head attached to its end coiled down in zigzag from the sky. ‘I became a nun in the Daigo area of ther capital and was taking care of my afterlife, but you made me grow my hair again and return to the deceitful world. I won’t let you get away now’ and crept to strangle his throat, but he stepped aside and cut it up. Thinking that this is the end, he let go of the wickedness in his heart, called the name of the Buddha and prayed towards the Western Paradise.<sup>229</sup>

His friend then found Yonosuke on the first floor, unconscious in a pool of blood, among cut-up oaths of love from his former lovers.

Yonosuke’s encounter with feminine monsters from his past is depicted in terms of inverted erotic metaphors, combined with the uncanny amalgamations of categories: past-present, human-animal, woman-bird, erotic-threatening. They correspond to what Klein calls ‘part-objects.’<sup>230</sup> The ambiguity of these creatures, slipping in and out of the animal domain, is genuinely threatening because of the dissolution of basic categories of being. They are also phantasms of movement and material agency, contrasting with the immobility and objectification of positive fantasies of women.<sup>231</sup>

The processes discussed above are reflected in the illustration to the story by Saikaku himself (fig. 37). Firstly, the image is framed with misty areas at the top and bottom, conventions adapted from the illustrated scroll tradition into the medium of the illustrated

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<sup>229</sup> Ihara 1971 pp. 185-86.

<sup>230</sup> Klein 1935 p. 145.

<sup>231</sup> Laplanche and Pontalis 1973 p. 188. My interpretation of this image is gratefully indebted to discussions with Fabio Gygi.



book.<sup>232</sup> Saikaku replaces the neat outlines of the clouds with parallel lines that reduce the density of the area. The boundaries of this space become immaterial, imbued with the same degree of liminality as the morphing women. The parallel lines also make Yonosuke appear at risk of falling into the murky area at the bottom. The diminutive figure of Yonosuke is overpowered by the size of the creatures, which exercise a powerful downward tension reinforced by zigzag lines. His figure occupies only the bottom quarter of the image, while the extensible monster directly above is twice the size. Especially relevant to this chapter's argument is the woman-headed bird whose beak reaches out of its mouth to attack Yonosuke from behind. It provides a tantalizing counter-example to the woman-bird creatures from paradise. The positive shape-shifting element present in the paradisaical *kalavinka* bird and in Teika becoming Brahma is here reasserted in a negative context.

Figure 17 shows that the threatening aspect of female subjectivity was always present, lurking under the dense mythography of male fantasies. However, as soon as the repressed threatening aspect of the feminine thrust its head forward, it was objectified and made into a spectacle. This is apparent in Hishikawa Moronobu's illustration of the same episode, from the 1684 Edo edition of 'Life of an Amorous Man' (fig. 38).<sup>233</sup> The visual structure was preserved, but made prettier – rounder contours, flattened vertical dynamic. There is a diminished sense of danger – the mermaid creature does not extend its claw any more to snatch Yonosuke, and the beak of the bird-woman is further away from the hero's head. The figure of Yonosuke itself is larger and more asserting. The erectile figure above has lost its corporeality and is now simply an extending prop. All of the figures are more rigid, like props in a display booth. Although the composition is dynamic, it seems to be frozen in place for the voyeuristic delectation of the viewer.

In 1686, Moronobu produced another version of this image for a picture-book displaying his illustrating skills (fig. 39).<sup>234</sup> The composition is flatter, gone is the vertical tension that had

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<sup>232</sup> Specifically, the *nara ehon* 奈良絵本 genre. Look, for example, at the top and bottom of the illustration to Yoshitsune's arrival on the Island of Women in figure 27.

<sup>233</sup> For a parallel discussion of Moronobu's adaptations of Saikaku's illustrations, see Mostow 1996 pp. 101-3.

<sup>234</sup> The only surviving copy in the British Library, covering the first four chapters of the novel, bears the pompous title *Kōshoku Yamato-e no kongen* (好色大和絵のこんげん 'Founder of Lusty Native Painting'), which likely refers to Moronobu's achievements. The date of publication is missing, but the book *Kōshoku sewa ezukushi* in the British Library, covering the remainder of the novel's chapters, bears the date Jōkyō 3 (1686) and indicates the author as Moronobu (Hasegawa, Yamane and Kōta 1978 p. 196).

been so central to the frightening power of the original illustration. The ambiguity of the monsters has disappeared: the face of the figure behind Yonosuke is no longer a disconcerting mix between woman and bird, but a rigid bird's head. On closer inspection, it is actually a young woman wearing a bird mask, suggesting an atmosphere of jest and entertainment. The animation of the image has entirely disappeared. The characters seem glued to their places: the 'flying' bird figure could just as well be lying on the floor. Likewise, the extensible figure above Yonosuke's head now seems pasted to the wall. Yonosuke himself is no longer depicted in a threshold position, as in previous illustrations: his figure is now well balanced on his feet and neatly framed by the surrounding space. Moronobu added two feminine figures peeking from behind a sliding door. Their gaze further framed the image as a voyeuristic spectacle. And their mundane look as house maids decreases the spatial dislocation which had made the original image disturbing. This was no longer the struggle of an individual with his own phantasms, but a masquerade. From an object of encounter, the representation of the feminine was reverted to an object of recognition.

## Conclusion

By investigating the spatial mechanisms of male fantasies about women in the vernacular culture of the late seventeenth century, this chapter has enabled a reconsideration of their social and cultural constructions of gender. Both visual sources and ideas of femininity were characterized by a semiotic oscillation that determined their shape-shifting configurations. On one hand, they were able to transcend the dominant discourse and disclose suppressed phantasms and anxieties. On the other hand, they could equally reinforce the same dominant discourse. Ultimately, the subversive potential of visualizations such as figure 37 was collapsed into a set of commonplaces, only to be destabilized again in a new context. This dynamics of the rhetoric of the feminine indicates that the category of the feminine resisted closure. Women were vehicles of alterity, metaphors of spatial and identitary displacement. The category of the feminine stood in for the Other, the transmogrified self that emerged out of the encounter with alterity. In late seventeenth century vernacular culture, women thus retained their status as intermediaries, but their agency was internalized. Rather than emissaries between this world and the otherworld, they were now embodiments of alterity, guiding the male subject toward a new self-realisation.

The theme of identity traverses the various interlockings between space and gender, within which I have identified two values: the demonic, which was a negation of identity, and the paradisaical, often paired with eroticism, which was a confirmation and sometimes a pleasurable transformation of identity. These intersections between the spatial imaginary and gender relations show the configuration of a basic characteristic of the social identity of the period: male-female dichotomy. This is related to newly formed networks of consumption between producers (male) and consumers (increasingly female). Two coexisting narrative models were analysed: for the male audience, one in which the male character interacted temporarily with a feminine space; for the female audience, one in which the biography of the female character formed a model of ideal feminine behaviour.

From the point of view of the spatial imaginary, this chapter has shown that outside the home territory came to stand an indistinct concept of the otherworld. The specifics of peripheral territories faded away, leaving only their inhabitants to stand in for them. The imaginative range contracted, and the Island of Women was lost out of sight. Instead of the otherworld, left in view were only the women that had originally served as intermediaries.

## Chapter 4. Gabled Windows

### Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the iconography of ideal spaces in the period by tracing iconographic transitions from upper-class painting formats to cheap printed media. I focus on the licensed prostitution quarters, which were spaces placed at the periphery of major cities.<sup>235</sup> Although numerous studies have analysed this imagery in terms of the beginning of the *ukiyo-e* genre, little attention has been given to the correspondence between its spatial imaginary and the spatial practice in the culture of the period. I argue that the iconography of prostitution quarters was very much informed by concepts of ideal spaces with which this study has dealt up to this point. Furthermore, the advent of the print format opened new possibilities for spatial representation. I submit that these representations of the urban periphery constituted a discourse of Otherness that entertained and reinforced the self-identity of the urban audience of the period.

In the first chapter I have shown how a frame of inaccessible and unchanging peripheral territories participated in the coagulation of an iconic image of a home territory within the Japanese archipelago. In this chapter I will show how some of the characteristics of this phenomenon were inherited by spaces at the urban periphery. At the same time, the prostitution quarters were fashionable spaces, which entertained an image of novelty and accessibility. This eclectic mix of features reflects a change in the meaning and function of imaginary spaces in this period: no longer referring to a utopia in another dimension, but constructing a heterotopia in the here and now: a real space which acts as a 'countersite' in relationship to normative spaces.<sup>236</sup> While in the first chapter I have shown that peripheric imaginary spaces were real to a certain degree, in this chapter I show that real spaces had an imaginary dimension.

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<sup>235</sup> My enquiry is informed by Screech 2006, but focuses on specific sources from the late seventeenth century. Equally important in this period was the spatial iconography of the *kabuki* theatre district. While I refer to it in passing, the focus of this chapter is on the prostitution quarters. The theatre district deserves a more in-depth study elsewhere that would take into account preliminary thoughts formulated in Gerstle 2005 p. 194.

<sup>236</sup> As discussed in Foucault 1986. Foucault's concept is undeveloped, but as such it can be useful to point the way towards a description of the changing nature of the space of the prostitution quarters. I aim to eventually replace this term with one found in the contemporary discourse.

I apply a phenomenological approach, which takes into account the embodied experience of gradually accessing this space. I propose this as a more fruitful line of inquiry than straightforward iconography or stylistic analysis for understanding the wider cultural significance of prostitution quarters. The features of Yoshiwara as an entertainment space have been analyzed from the perspective of urban planning.<sup>237</sup> However, as I will show throughout this chapter, the reconstruction of these features is dependent upon textual and visual representations of Yoshiwara in vernacular culture. I therefore survey these vernacular representations and in the process argue for the relevance of spatial imaginary to our understanding of the cognitive mapping of the urban population of the time.

#### 4.1. The Morohira Screen

A representative example of late seventeenth century visualizations of the urban periphery is a pair of folding screens signed by Hishikawa Moronobu's son, Morohira (fig. 40).<sup>238</sup> It leads the viewer beyond a temple gate towards scene of revelry in a spring setting, and then onto a streetscape which can be identified with the prostitution quarter of Yoshiwara in autumn. The physical layout of the actual sites is disregarded in favour of artistic license. This idiosyncratic pictorial space can be divided in three sections, from right to left: the first three panels of the right screen correspond to the normal world. The remaining three panels of the right screen and the first three panels of the left screen depict the other world, populated with unusual characters and behaviours. And the three remaining panels on the left of the left screen show the inner space of the other world. This spatial structure is an example of a 'screen vision' governed by the original process of physical interaction with the screen: the audience would have moved through the screen taking in one scene at a time, according the human field of vision which corresponds to around three panels of a folding screen. This phenomenon structures screen compositions along 'single field of vision scenes.'<sup>239</sup>

While being structured according to this 'screen vision,' Morohira's screen follows a progression from outdoors to indoors and from public to private. There is a gradual transition from the space of normal existence to one of fantasy and enjoyment. The space flows through

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<sup>237</sup> Shimomura and Egashira 1992.

<sup>238</sup> An almost identical version is illustrated in Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 2013 cat. 72, with an entry in English at p. 214.

<sup>239</sup> Both 'screen vision' and 'single field of vision scene' are my translations of Ōta Shōko's terms *byōbu teki gensō* and *ichi shiya no gamen*, as discussed in Ōta 1995 pp. 86-95.

uninterrupted, disregarding a topographical vision of space in favour of a topological layout that I argue is more closely related to the cognitive experience of space. A spatial layering, or wrapping sequence, is at work.<sup>240</sup> Nestled at its centre is an inner space that implies depth.

#### 4.1.1. Fūzoku-ga Inheritance and Idealization

The spatial structure detailed above was not Morohira's or Moronobu's innovation, but a version of spatial devices developed in the *emaki* ('illustrated scroll') tradition, and perpetuated in the seventeenth century by paintings depicting contemporary entertainments in an idealized space, now described as *fūzoku-ga* ('genre painting').<sup>241</sup> More specifically, a series of screens depicting 'amusements in a mansion' exhibit a similar spatial structure to Morohira's screens (figs. 41a, 41b).<sup>242</sup> Previous studies of these earlier screens have interpreted them as faithful renderings of early seventeenth-century elite pastimes.<sup>243</sup> However, more recent studies have challenged previous interpretations by pointing out, for example, that these screens include references to ideal spaces. Firstly, the use of gold foil engendered associations with the Western Paradise of Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>244</sup> Secondly, the tripartite spatial structure corresponded to mythical and narrative patterns of visits to the otherworld.<sup>245</sup> One of them is the trope of *ikyō hōmontan* ('story of visit to another land'), of which the story of Urashima is a prime example.<sup>246</sup> Early seventeenth century genre scenes had been innovative in their insertion of iconographies of contemporary spaces of entertainment into spatial formats previously used for the depiction of ideal spaces. What was the meaning of this insertion? Recent studies in cognitive psychology have shown that an effect of familiarity can be reproduced by displaying

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<sup>240</sup> I borrow the term 'wrapping' from Hendry 1994.

<sup>241</sup> Another possible source which has received little attention are Ming period images – see note 271. Also, Wu 1997 discusses strikingly similar spatial patterns in late Ming and early Qing descriptions of the space of *meiren* (美人 'beautiful women').

<sup>242</sup> Toda et al. 1980. These screens have been seen as belonging to a transitional and interim phase in the art historical narrative, between 'capitalscapes' (McKelway 2006) and hanging scrolls with single figures called *Kanbun bijin* (寛文美人 'Kanbun beauties' - see Yamane 1978 p. 190).

<sup>243</sup> My enquiry continues a recent line of research which reassesses the significance of images categorized under *fūzoku-ga*. As Akiko of Mikasa 2009 has shown, the term *fūzoku-ga* itself is a Meiji period construct imitating the European art historical category of 'genre scenes.' For an extensive analysis of *fūzoku-ga* historiography, see Lee 2003 pp. 19-38.

<sup>244</sup> Klein and Wheelwright 1984 p. 16. On the association between gold leaf and Japaneseness, see Suzuki 1995 p. 36 and Wheelwright 1986 p. 7.

<sup>245</sup> Matsuda 1977.

<sup>246</sup> See note 213.

images with the same visual layout.<sup>247</sup> In *fūzoku-ga*, this produced a conceptual blending which allowed an intericonic co-existence of real and ideal spaces within the same image.<sup>248</sup> Although *fūzoku-ga* have been considered the precursors of *ukiyo-e*, recent research has shown that many of the works were produced in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>249</sup> This means that Moronobu's work was contemporaneous with *fūzoku-ga*, and indeed might not have been regarded as very different. I argue that Moronobu was working within the same tradition of collapsing real and ideal spaces. A testimony to this is the reproduction of the tripartite spatial layout in his images of Yoshiwara, as discussed further in this chapter.

It is to some extent predictable that prostitution quarters in Japan would be associated with ideal spaces frequently throughout the seventeenth century. Idealization was a form of advertising, and created an appealing image for what was effectively an entertainment industry revolving around sexual services. But it was also a time-honoured practice within the poetic tradition. An early example is included in the 1638 *haikai* linked verse composition manual, *Kefukigusa* (毛吹草 'Feather-Blown Grasses'):<sup>250</sup>

After the Spring horse chewing its bit has passed,  
 The attendant to the princess breaks off a cherry blossom  
 and offers it as the day moves along sleeves turning,  
 it's heaven and hell right before our eyes  
 Devil's thistle and Buddha's nettle as we're walking through the field.<sup>251</sup>

This example shows how the medieval poetic tradition referring to an idealized court life was actively re-employed in the poetic circles of seventeenth century Japan. One of the methods by which this reference worked was what I call 'the idealization of space,' meaning the description

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<sup>247</sup> Cleary et al. 2012.

<sup>248</sup> See the discussion in Lee 2003 pp. 153-159 and Kuroda 1995. The term 'conceptual blending' refers to the combination of two previously separate concepts into an unprecedented hybrid – see Fauconnier and Turner 2002. I borrow the term 'intericonic,' which is modelled on Genette's concept of intertextuality, from Chéroux 2009.

<sup>249</sup> For the *fūzoku-ga* to *ukiyo-e* thesis, see Kobayashi 1972 p. 179. Most of the *fūzoku-ga* in Hakubutsukan 2008 date from the second half of the seventeenth century. This shows that the painting tradition of *fūzoku-ga* continued well into the seventeenth century.

<sup>250</sup> The translation of the title is from Berry 2006 p. 20.

<sup>251</sup> 轡（くつわ）はむ花の春駒あと先に・さくらを手折大君の供・さしうつる日もなか袖をまくり上・たゝ目の前の地獄極楽・わけて行野は鬼あざみ佛の座 卷七春 Matsue 1943 p. 357.

of present spaces in terms of ideal spaces.

Descriptions of prostitution quarters consciously imitated this idealized model of courtly elegance. Early prostitute critiques thus applied a variety of utopic markers to the prostitution quarters, marking them as spaces of alterity. For example, the title of the 1655 prostitute critique *Tōgen shū* (桃源集 'The Peach Spring Collection') assimilates Shimabara to the archetypal Chinese utopia: the ideal community that a fisherman chances upon behind a rock passage in Tao Yuanming's poem *Táohuā Yuán* (jp. *Tōgenkyō*, 'Peach Blossom Spring'). The zigzag entrance of the Yoshiwara enclosure could have conversely generated associations with the narrow entrance to the Peach Blossom Grove. For example, a reworking of the same spatial structure is featured at the start of Sairoken Kyōsen's 1686 *Kindai yasainja* (近代艶隠者 'Recent Stylish Recluses').<sup>252</sup> The narrative setting is similar to that of the Peach Blossom Spring: a man accesses a narrow entrance between the rocks. He then encounters a feminine character holding an animal. The illustrations by Ihara Saikaku show the protagonist entering a circular portal, and then the feminine figure in fashionable attire and the backward-glancing posture reminiscent of depictions of prostitutes (figs. 42, 43).

Another source of idealization for the prostitution quarters were more generic tropes of foreignness. In Ryōi's 'Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road,' the monk protagonist Rakuamida Butsu<sup>253</sup> is strolling through Yoshiwara:

As he keeps walking, he hears lovers in bed *talking like two birds on the same wing*.<sup>254</sup> Forgetting all your worries, enjoying the pleasures of the heavenly city,<sup>255</sup> there's no place like it. I do believe that even the *entertainments in Huaqing Palace*<sup>256</sup> would not have topped this. If they tune their shamisen and play you a song, you feel like you've become a heavenly king and are in the company of Han E or Consort Yu.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Lane 1955 p. 185.

<sup>253</sup> Probably inspired by the story of the beggar Rakuami from 'Personal observations of the Keichō era.'

<sup>254</sup> My italics refer to quotations from 'Song of Everlasting Sorrow.'

<sup>255</sup> In Buddhist mythology, *Sudarsana* (喜見城 jp. *Kikenjō*) is a lavish castle capital of the thirty-three Indra heavens on on top of Mount Sumeru in which the guardian deity Taishaku-ten lives. See Faure 2003 p. 385 note 13 and Ihara 1959b p. 151 note 2.

<sup>256</sup> Huaqing Palace 華清宮 was located atop Mount Li 驪山 in the Qinling Mountains, approximately 25 km to the east of the capital Chang'an.

<sup>257</sup> 韓娥 and 虞公, famous Chinese beauties. Asai 1979 vol. 1 p. 33.



Another trope of idealization were Buddhist paradises, as seen in the reference to the heavenly city above. The equivalence between the prostitution quarters and Buddhist paradise is directly stated in an exchange of verses from the 1676 Danrin circle anthology *Tenman senku* (天満千句 'A thousand verses at the Tenman temple'):

Believers chanting Buddha's name dancing to the shamisen  
Gazing at the moon I see the paradise of the house of assignment  
A thousand sorrows on the mind of the courtesan.<sup>258</sup>

The reference to the poetic tradition is here combined with a fashionable contemporary topic, the prostitution quarters.<sup>259</sup> This association was not restricted to Yoshiwara: in a description of Osaka's prostitution quarter, Shimabara, from Saikaku's 'Great Mirror of Beauties,' the male client says 'paradise is not far away.'<sup>260</sup> In the first volume of the same work, another reference to a Buddhist paradise is made in conjunction to the already familiar trope of the ship: 'The Happiness-Viewing Castle<sup>261</sup> unfolding before our eyes, those are the three ports of Yoshiwara, Shimabara, Shinmachi where love calls.' This is paralleled by the ending of 'Great Mirror of Beauties,' where the figures of twenty five prostitutes appear as Bodhisattvas 'before our eyes' (fig. 44).<sup>262</sup>

The examples above testify to the dynamic nature of the spatial imaginary in this period. Starting from the 1660s, previously utopic iconographies were increasingly localized and circumscribed within an urban imaginary. One of the trends emerging within vernacular culture was a clear preference for the experience of the space of this world over a

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<sup>258</sup> 念仏衆生躍り三味線 [梅翁]・月見れば極楽世界の揚屋也 [西花]・千々に物こそ思ふ君様 [武仙] Nichibunken 2008.

<sup>259</sup> The underlying reference is to a famous poem by Ōe no Chisato from the autumn section of the 10th century poetic compilation *Kokinshū*: 'Autumn does not come/for me alone among men -/yet I am burdened/with a thousand vague sorrows/when I gaze upon the moon.' McCullough 1985 p. 22.

<sup>260</sup> Ihara 2000 pp. 193-4.

<sup>261</sup> The same *Kikenjō* 喜見城 rendered as 'heavenly city' in Rakuamida Butsu's description of Yoshiwara quoted above.

<sup>262</sup> See Mori 2001 p. 13. The phenomenon is summarized in Faure 2003 p. 264: 'In the ukiyo zoshi ... the closed quarter turns into a paradise on earth, whose goddesses and bodhisattvas are the courtesans.'

transcendental reality projected elsewhere.<sup>263</sup> This view is expressed, for example, in a nostalgic aside from Ihara Saikaku's 1694 'floating world tale' *Saikaku okimiyage* (西鶴置土産 'Saikaku's Parting Gift'):

When you think about it, those were really the days, weren't they? Even a man reeking of Confucius, if he 'heard of the Way in the morning,' could go to the Quarter at night! Bah! What's so precious about those 'Ancient Texts' anyway? After all, we all drop our weapons sometime and get beaten by death. There's no 'knight of the streets' that can win that battle! If you can just find a little time for the Floating World, gaze upon its beautiful denizens-it'll be a balm to you, 'long-life pills.' You don't have to send somebody after the Sages' mysterious elixirs of eternal youth and longevity. There's a shortcut to good things like that, don't you know?<sup>264</sup>

The same preference is found in another example from Saikaku:

In the past, the house of assignation was the fun place where everybody came to rejuvenate themselves. Rather than longing for the far-away paradise of the Dragon Palace and meeting the stuck-up princess Otohime, I'll go for the familiar faces of the Maruya house.<sup>265</sup>

These examples show a preference for the actual experience of the space of the prostitution quarters over pre-existing models of ideal spaces. The paradises and fantastic lands of 'companion tales' informed the image of prostitution quarters in 'floating world tales,' but the latter were more desirable. This also meant that, in these sources, first-hand experience was valued more than abstract concepts, however lofty. What emerges is a primacy of experience over representation. This preference for experience can be interpreted as an emphasis on the

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<sup>263</sup> Vernacular culture also accommodated other views, as shown for example by the resilience of the cartographic format of the Buddhist central continent (sk. Jambudvīpa) throughout the Edo period – see Moerman forthcoming.

<sup>264</sup> Leutner 1975 p. 385, discussed in Johnson 2001 p. 335.

<sup>265</sup> 揚屋といふ事、むかし誰かははじめて年の若ふなるたのしみ所、遠かりし竜宮浄土を望、氣立てのしれぬ乙姫にあふよりは、しれた丸屋の口鼻がまし。According to Katō 2006 p. 111, this passage reveals a rational spirit which prefers the pragmatic utopia of the actual prostitution quarter of Shimabara over the fantasy of the Dragon Palace.

performative aspect of the prostitution quarter, the actual experience which precedes representation.

A contemporary hanging scroll painting illustrates the idealization of the spatial practice of accessing the prostitution quarters (fig. 45). A young dandy is heading toward Yoshiwara on a horse. The man is a young samurai displaying his two swords along with fashionable clothes and updated hairstyle. It is a hybrid look which blends symbols of authority with frivolous accessories that confounds gender roles, since both the over-garment and the hairstyle refer to feminine beauty. The rider holds the steed on a short rein, which suggests a powerful and lively animal.<sup>266</sup> This impression is supported by the bulging muscles of the thighs and neck, and the parading posture of the feet. The rider is therefore displaying both authority and finesse. This is paralleled by the depiction of the blossoming cherry tree behind. The trunk and branches are drawn in vigorous ink brush strokes suggestive of Kano school pine iconography, in contrast with delicately rendered blossoms. This hybrid flora, however incongruous, parallels the hybrid look of the rider.

The inscription above reads:

Her looks are stylish and not a common sight  
If you take a glance at her face the city will crumble  
When she laughs her flowery face is even worthier of praise  
I'll let the horse roam aimlessly under the cherry blossoms.

Although the poem is written in classical Chinese form, epithets such as *fūryū* (風流 'stylish') locate the image within a contemporary context: a visit to the prostitution quarters, and more specifically Yoshiwara which, as discussed below, was a predilect theme for Moronobu.<sup>267</sup> The Chinese character imbue this setting with an air of classical prestige. It does so first of all by referring to the Chinese legend of the imperial courtesan Yang Guifei who contributed to the demise of the kingdom, which was the origin for a common designation for

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<sup>266</sup> This description is inspired by McCausland 2011 p. 135.

<sup>267</sup> A very similar figure of a young rider accompanied by a procession of attendants is included at the end of the second painted scroll of 'Scenes of Daily Life at Ueno and Asakusa.' (Kobayashi and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1994 cat. 12-5). The placing of the procession after the depiction of Asakusa temple precincts suggests the same destination: Yoshiwara. The late 1680s-early 1690s dating of this handscroll suggests a similar dating for the hanging scroll in figure 45 (Ōkubo in Kobayashi and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1994 p. 199).

prostitutes: *keisei* (傾城 'city-toppler'). Secondly, the image might refer to one of the 'Songs of Youth' by Tang period poet Wang Wei, which is about youths having fun in Chang'an:

At Xinfeng, fine wine – a gallon for ten thousand cash.  
In Xianyang the knights-errant are mostly young in years.  
Meeting together in high spirits they offer each other toasts,  
And tie their horses at the tall tower next to the weeping willows.<sup>268</sup>

The allusion is made explicit in an inscription by the Confucian scholar Muro Kyūsō (1658-1734) on the lid of the box containing the painting: 'Evaluated by the Master of the Pigeon Nest: Young Man's Excursion from the brush of Hishikawa Moronobu.' Although alive at the time in which this painting was produced, Muro most probably penned this inscription after 1711, when he entered service in Edo for the Tokugawa shoguns.<sup>269</sup> It is therefore a later appraisal, which however provides a record of how a contemporary audience would have interpreted this image.

The poem had been illustrated in the highly influential collection *Bazhong Huapu* (八種画譜 'Primer on Eight Varieties of Painting') (fig. 46).<sup>270</sup> It is known that Moronobu adapted late Ming works into his own production.<sup>271</sup> Was he actually influenced by this illustration? The details of the tack of the standing horse in the illustration - rounded lower saddle, high crupper with long tassels – are similar to those of the horse in Moronobu's painting. The position of the back right foot is also similar in the two images. The stirrups, however, are open-sided *fukuro abumi*, of a decidedly Japanese design. The connection between Moronobu's painting and the *Bazhong huapu* illustration is therefore possible, but not certain.<sup>272</sup>

That being said, if the association of the visit to the prostitution quarter with Wang Wei's

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<sup>268</sup> Wang 1980 p. 69.

<sup>269</sup> For a short biography see De Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006 p. 445.

<sup>270</sup> Yamamoto 2008 p. 44.

<sup>271</sup> See for example the illustrations from the Japanese version of the late Ming printed album *Fengliu juechang tu* (Jp. *Fūryū zetchō zu* 'Pictures of the Height of Sophistication'), attributed to Moronobu, discussed in Kobayashi 2009, illustrated in Clark, Gerstle, Ishigami and Yano 2013 cats. 20, 21.

<sup>272</sup> Horses do feature extensively in Moronobu's printed works on Yoshiwara. For example, 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' features multiple horses. However, the majority have high saddles and are led by grooms. Resting horses are prominent in the first print in the 'Views of Yoshiwara' series. Therefore, if there was any association to Wang Wei's poem in Moronobu's time, it was not stated directly in his work, whether visually or textually.

poem was being made at the time, then it would have fashioned this image as a contemporary reiteration of a classical Chinese past, and by implication Yoshiwara into the capital of Chang'an.<sup>273</sup> Moronobu's hanging scroll shows us the extent to which the normative concept of the prostitution quarters could be modulated by vernacular works. In this vernacular context, the distance and location of Yoshiwara were no longer an inconvenience, but a feature: remoteness was harnessed and embellished to enhance the enjoyment of the experience.

Moronobu's painting is also relevant to our discussion because it follows the same pictorial conventions of the illustrated scroll as the illustration to 'Yoshitsune's Voyage Among the Islands' discussed in the previous chapter (fig. 27). Both images imply two spaces beyond: the known space of the home territory or the urban centre to the right, and the unknown space of the Island of Women or Yoshiwara to the left. Both Yoshitsune and the rider in Moronobu's painting are depicted in a liminal position, moving between these spaces. The horse is the equivalent of Yoshitsune's boat. Moronobu's painting is thus an updated visualization of alluring liminality, conforming to a tripartite spatial structure that forms the focus of the following section.

#### **4.1.2. Enclosures: The Physical Space of Yoshiwara**

As noted above, it is not surprising that a degree of distortion and embellishment of reality would occur in depictions of prostitution quarters: they were profit-making operations that relied on the exploitation of its employees, and it was in the interest of both the employers and the patrons to maintain the illusion of a pleasurable experience.<sup>274</sup> While modalities of visual embellishment have been thoroughly researched as part of the history of the *ukiyo-e* genre, little attention has been given to how this distortion of reality operated at the level of the spatial imaginary. This is what the remainder of this chapter sets out to do.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the early seventeenth century had seen the establishment of prostitution quarters regulated by shogunal edicts.<sup>275</sup> This was unprecedented – until then, prostitution had been practised throughout various areas of the city, while its

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<sup>273</sup> This process of playful adaptation (jp. *mitate*) is similar to the examples discussed earlier in this chapter.

<sup>274</sup> While the audience of the *ukiyo-e* genre has been assumed to be the merchant class, recent research shows that seventeenth century *ukiyo-e* production was aimed at a more elite audience (Nagasaki, Tazawa et al. 2010 p. 76).

<sup>275</sup> A detailed account in Teruoka 2000.

practitioners enjoyed freedom of movement, often being called to the client's home.<sup>276</sup> Asai Ryōi's 1660 travelogue 'Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road' recalls how, twenty years earlier, the prostitution quarter of the capital 京 had been relocated from Rokujō misujimachi 六条三筋町 to Shimabara 島原, at the periphery of the city:

Because there were persons visiting the Rokujō ward every night, three wards were evicted from the western riverside and Chūdo temple in the west side of the Seventh Ward, assembled and crammed into one enclosure, out of which city-topplers were not permitted to walk out.<sup>277</sup>

The use of the expression 'crammed' (jp. *oshikomi*) captures the forcefulness of the action which can be interpreted as an imposition of authority on the part of the Tokugawa shogunate. The meaning of this action has been interpreted in terms of prostitution functioning as a controlled outlet to a strict political regime.<sup>278</sup> This concept of restricting the activity of prostitution to an enclosed peripheral and periaquatic space was applied throughout every castle town under Tokugawa rule. In this chapter I focus my discussion on the most representative case: that of Yoshiwara, the female prostitution quarter of the city of Edo.

Miura Jōshin's *Keichō kenmon shū* (慶長見聞集 'Personal Observations of the Keichō Era') of around 1620 contains an account of the establishment of the first official prostitution quarter in Edo:

Because Edo is now thriving, people from all over Japan gathered and built houses over plains and hills, spanning three kilometres in all directions, so that there was no empty space left. However, on the south-eastern sea shore there was a reed plain [吉原 jp. yoshiwara]. Love-seeking people from the capital and its outskirts chose this reed plain.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> This discussion is based on Takada 1993.

<sup>277</sup> Asai 1979 vol. 2 pp. 178-9. 'City-toppler' was a common appellation for a prostitute, referring to the story of the imperial concubine Yang Guifei of Chinese emperors which contributed to the demise of empires. I will elaborate on this topic later in the chapter.

<sup>278</sup> See, for example, Carpenter 1998 p. 382.

<sup>279</sup> Miura 1969 p. 590, Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 1 p. 29. An alternative translation in Seigle 1993 p. 26.

The account emphasizes the spontaneous nature of the quarters. This site of popular self-determination close to the urban centre did not sit well in the government's eyes. So in 1656 the owners of the quarters were ordered to relocate. Until this was effected, the following year a fire that consumed Edo also engulfed the entire quarter. The shogunal authorities gave the brothel owners a choice between two locations. They chose the one beyond Asakusa temple to the north of the city, and renamed the quarter *Shin Yoshiwara* (新吉原 'New Yoshiwara').<sup>280</sup>

Figure 47 shows a detail of the northeastern corner of a foldout map of Edo, with the temple Asakusa marking the edge of the city proper. Beyond it, among temples and rice fields, is visible the prostitution quarters named Yoshiwara. The road leading to the single entrance is bent, and there is a surrounding moat. Previous research has not emphasised an important aspect of this spatial structure: its martial origin. The very term for the prostitution quarters' enclosure, *kuruwa* 廓, originally meant 'stronghold.' Just like a defensive military enclosure, prostitution quarters were surrounded by a moat,<sup>281</sup> had only one access point, and were approached through a zig-zag road. The last two features were also shared with *sekisho* (関所 'barrier') compounds along major roads.<sup>282</sup> Figure 48 shows a detail of the Hakone checkpoint on the road between Edo and the capital. Notice the bend in the access path, as well as another feature: the prominent display of *mitsu dōgu* (三つ道具 'three weapons').<sup>283</sup> The entrance to Yoshiwara was depicted in a very similar manner in a 1680s painted handscroll by Hishikawa Moronobu (fig. 49). It shows an embankment winding through rice fields and then veering off to the left. A single-sheet woodblock print by the same artist features the 'three weapons' right beside the main gate (fig. 50). The visual similarity would have invited associations with the experience of passing through a *sekisho*. However, in a real *sekisho*, travellers had to show their travel permit, take off their headcovers and be searched.<sup>284</sup> In contrast to this coercive behaviour, figure 50 depicts a male customer who has disguised himself under a large hat. The prostitution quarters thus enabled the opposite behaviour to that expected at a checkpoint. The fact that there was only one access point, unlike a checkpoint which had an entry and an

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<sup>280</sup> See Seigle 1993 pp. 48-52, Ishi'i 2012 pp. 29-67, Haft 2013 p. 18. Unless indicated, I use the term 'Yoshiwara' to refer to this 'New Yoshiwara' throughout the text.

<sup>281</sup> Sone 1999 p. 171.

<sup>282</sup> See Screech 2006 p. 267. For an extensive discussion of *sekisho* in the Edo period see Vaporis 1994 chapter 3.

<sup>283</sup> The 'three weapons' were 'a multi-pronged barbed spear (*sodegara*), a two-pronged, u-shaped weapon (*sasumata*), and a stave (*tsukubo*).' Vaporis 1994 p. 116.

<sup>284</sup> Vaporis 1994 p. 120.

exit, is also significant. From the point of view of the authorities, this ensured the convenient containment of an activity which enabled an inversion of normative behaviour. Such an inversion was allowed as long as it was contained. The martial connotations of the prostitution quarters were thus part of a rhetoric of spatial and visual authority. It was a prescribed place of escape, an exception that confirmed the rule.

While the *sekisho* was a space of transit, the prostitution quarter was itself the destination. Therefore, the normative representation of space was soon accompanied by an array of representational spaces produced by and for the prospective users of the prostitution quarters: the urban male population.<sup>285</sup>

A common strategy of appropriating a new, prescribed space is to tell stories about it. Most of the times, these are variations of already known stories.<sup>286</sup> Through this process, the Yoshiwara prostitution quarter became the ambiguous site for the multilayering of representational spaces. It provides a study case for the range of spatial narratives used to appropriate a given space.<sup>287</sup> Underlying these strategies of appropriation were spatial formats already existing within the culture of the period. One of the most important was the concept of geomancy, which is known to have been important in the overall layout of Edo.<sup>288</sup> Yoshiwara was relocated to the north-eastern direction relative to the shogunal castle. This direction was traditionally the site of geomantic vulnerability, which encouraged the clustering of Buddhist temples, as seen in Japanese conurbations over history.<sup>289</sup> Visiting the large temple compound of Asakusa was one of the possible preambles en route to Yoshiwara, which thus provided a profane counterpart to the sacred space of Asakusa.<sup>290</sup> The implication is that the temple and

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<sup>285</sup> I use the terms ‘representation of space’ and ‘representational spaces’ with the meaning theorized in Lefebvre 1991 pp. 38-46. My analysis of this material with these terms follows the suggestion in Gerstle 2005 p. 194.

<sup>286</sup> See the discussion of representational spaces in Lefebvre 1991 p. 45.

<sup>287</sup> According to Gunji 1993 p. 7, ‘from the point of view of the ruling class, it was a “bad place.” From the point of view of the people, it was paradise. This ambivalence is a characteristic of this space.’

<sup>288</sup> Although this argument is widespread (Screech 2006, Vaporis 1994 p. 129, Yonemoto 2003 p. 208 footnote 63,), documents supporting it are scarce. I would also like to draw attention to an unpublished geomantic map of Edo, entitled *Gohon maru hōiezu* 御本丸方位絵図, included among documents transmitted in the Kora family of official shogunal builders – see Tōkyō Toritsu Toshokan 2011. Although later than seventeenth century, this map supports the spatial argument I am putting forward.

<sup>289</sup> The north-eastern direction was named ‘The Demon’s Gate’ (Screech 2010 p. 255). More precisely, the location of Yoshiwara corresponded to the East-Northeast direction of the Tiger 寅.

<sup>290</sup> The structure of Yoshiwara’s enclosure, with a central street from which secondary streets branch off, has been likened to the structure of the *Nakamise dōri* street leading up to Asakusa temple. Yoshiwara can thus be seen as a spoof of a temple compound. The visit to Asakusa is illustrated in the courtesan



the prostitution quarters were kindred spaces. They can be thought of in terms of the medieval terms of *muen*, *kugai* and *raku*, which designate varieties of space exempt from secular authority.<sup>291</sup> One of the characteristics inherited from these medieval spaces was the association between entertainment spaces and periaquatic location.<sup>292</sup> The novelty of the late seventeenth century was the proliferation and wide circulation of visual representations of such liminal spaces. Chief among these were the theatre districts and official prostitution quarters, collectively called *akusho* (悪所 'bad places'). The remainder of this chapter focuses on representations of one of the most representative *akusho*: Yoshiwara.

#### 4.1.3. Spatial Practice Structured by Representations

In contrast to the normative regulations of Yoshiwara's space, its users created their own versions of its space according to social practice. Morohira's screen discussed above is a testimony to the influence of the imagery created by Hishikawa Moronobu, the most prominent producer of visual materials in this period.<sup>293</sup> Visual materials associated with Moronobu in the late seventeenth century configured and disseminated a visual vocabulary for depicting Edo's *akusho*: the theatre districts and the prostitution quarter of Yoshiwara. Moronobu's work celebrated these spaces of entertainment in a variety of visual formats, some of them unprecedented: scroll paintings, folding screens, woodblock printed book illustrations and single sheet prints. The range of Moronobu's visual production related to Yoshiwara makes his work representative for the visual culture and conversely for the social practice of the period.<sup>294</sup>

For example, a topographically accurate view of Yoshiwara is depicted in a folding screen

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critique *Yoshiwara koi no michibiki* ('A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara') from 1678. I use the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' with the meanings established in Eliade 1959.

<sup>291</sup> By the seventeenth century, the religious and administrative institutions associated with these terms had disappeared, but their echo was still felt. Courtesans were called *kugai* with the meaning of 'public persons' – see Amino 2007 pp. 163-4. It has therefore been argued that in the seventeenth century prostitution quarters were turned from liminal areas (jp. *muen*) to 'public spaces' (jp. *kugai*) (Takada 1993 pp. 44-5). But this argument is weakened by the fact that, in practice, the characteristics of *muen* and *kugai* spaces often overlapped.

<sup>292</sup> Jin'nai 1995 pp. 135-38.

<sup>293</sup> Moronobu (?-1694) was born a weaver's son in Hodamura, Awa province, came to Edo and learned techniques from various painting schools. His name first appears on a printed work in the 1672 *Buke hyakunin isshu* (武家百人一首 'One Hundred Poems By One Hundred Poets of Military Families') Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2000 cat. 103. Judging by the number of printed and painted works, Moronobu was very prolific and in demand, and at some point organized a studio training apprentices.

<sup>294</sup> The major work on Moronobu's corpus is Asano 2008. See also Clark and Morse 2001 p. 64.

made by Hishikawa Moronobu's studio (fig. 47).<sup>295</sup> It is a panoramic view which follows the itinerary of the visitors from the Nihon embankment through the front gate, onto the main street, and then further up, or further in-depth from a bird's eye perspective. This last detail corresponds to the right turn that visitors would take to arrive at the houses of assignation (jp. *ageya*).

However, this vertically layered spatial structure is an exception within Moronobu's imagery, the majority of which follows a horizontal spatial pattern. A case in point is Morohira's screen (fig. 40). A comparison with figure 51 reveals the topographical dislocations occurring in Morohira's image. I propose its analysis from the point of view of spatial practice, using parameters laid out in a study by urban planners on the spatial structure of entertainment areas in Edo.<sup>296</sup> According to it, both theatre districts and prostitution quarters had four spatial characteristics: otherworldliness through enclosure and vicinity to water; enfoldment through layered access to increasingly intimate spaces; lead-in through a prolonged approach which heightens expectations; and abundance of sensorial stimulation.

How are these characteristics reflected in Morohira's screen? The abundance of sensorial stimulation is obvious, and it suffices to point out the many instances of music playing, dynamic dance movements and backward glances. My earlier analysis of tripartite space corresponds to the lead-in. This characteristic is enhanced by the suggested temporal progression visible in representations of flora: trees in the right panel are shown with blossoming cherry flowers, indicating spring, while the trees on the left panel bear autumn foliage, indicating an infinitely prolonged transition through the entertainment space. As for enfoldment, this is rendered through the progression from outdoor to indoor space. The latter is equivalent to the postwar Japanese architectural concept of *oku* ('depth').<sup>297</sup> This inner space is reached through a gradual progression which re-enacts the physical experience of the visitors accessing the quarters. This linear progression along a horizontal plane suggests the phenomenological aspect of the experience of the visitors.<sup>298</sup> It configures a 'movement-oriented' space in contrast to the administrative representation of space. This is not a

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<sup>295</sup> Illustrated in Clark and Morse 2001 cat. 4.

<sup>296</sup> Shimomura and Egashira 1992.

<sup>297</sup> The term has been theorized in Maki 2008 pp. 150-167. Li 2009 discusses its applications to a comparative Chinese context. The nationalistic ideas associated with the concept of *oku* are critiqued in Duff-Cooper 1991.

<sup>298</sup> This sentence is inspired by Nitschke 1993 p. 54, who was reworking Isozaki's ideas.

topographical space defined by external coordinates, but by the relationship between its parts, as perceived from the same vantage point – that of the viewer progressing through the screens three panels at a time. In this sense, Morohira's screen depicts a topological space.

Furthermore, when the material presence of the folding screen is taken into consideration, the wrapping effect of the folding panels creates a feeling of immersion of the viewer's body into the pictural space.<sup>299</sup> The material presence of the screen constructs the otherworldliness of entertainment spaces by simulating their enclosure. In the specific case of Morohira's screen, the outlines of golden clouds are contiguous at the extremities of the screens, suggesting the possible use of the two screens as one enveloping circular image. Both the content and the materiality of the image were thus effective in simulating the physical experience of accessing the prostitution quarters.

#### **4.2. The Primacy of Paintings and Experiments in Print**

The previous example shows that visual materials played a prominent and complex role in the production of spatial alternatives to shogunal norms related to entertainment spaces. Identifying this process as *mitate* is accurate, but it does no more than establish that previous spatial imaginaries were applied to entertainment spaces at the urban periphery. The remainder of this chapter takes the argument further by unpacking the specific modalities through which representations went as far as replacing actual experience within the spatial imaginary of this period.

##### **4.2.1. Paintings Versus Prints**

While working within the painting tradition, Moronobu also made full use of a new possibility for image making: the woodblock print, with its alternative visual space. While my main interest in discussing this imagery is its construction of space, a discussion of this topic first requires an elucidation of the relationship between paintings and prints. This woodblock print format has received considerably more scholarly attention until recently because of its later development within the ukiyo-e genre. However, manuscripts were just as significant as printed materials in Edo period book culture.<sup>300</sup> My specific argument is that paintings came

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<sup>299</sup> See Ōta 1995 p. 91.

<sup>300</sup> For a discussion of the role of manuscripts within Edo period culture, see Kornicki 2006.

first in Moronobu's work, and their layout influenced the spatial characteristics of his prints.<sup>301</sup> In order to illustrate this argument, I will focus on a series of artworks by Moronobu that rework the same iconography of Yoshiwara into a variety of formats, the range of which is unprecedented in the history of Japanese art. It can be argued that the reason for the success of Moronobu's Yoshiwara imagery was precisely this unprecedented range of formats in which it was disseminated.

Besides the painted screen versions discussed above, Yoshiwara imagery was also adapted to the format of the illustrated handscroll.<sup>302</sup> One of the most important examples is a handscroll now in Tōkyō National Museum comprised of nine different fragments with differing dates (fig. 49).<sup>303</sup> The existence of other surviving handscroll fragments with Yoshiwara imagery indicates the importance of the painted handscroll scene as a distinct format within Moronobu's production.<sup>304</sup> Yet another format for Yoshiwara imagery were hand-coloured woodblock-printed sheets. Among these, the twelve-sheet set *Yoshiwara no tei* (よしはらの躰 'Views of Yoshiwara') is of distinct importance for its complexity and construction of space, as will be discussed further. Moronobu also visualized Yoshiwara in the woodblock-printed book format, either as illustrations to the text of prostitute critiques or as picture books. Of prime relevance to the discussion of the spatial characteristics of Moronobu's Yoshiwara imagery is the 1678 pictorial guide book *Yoshiwara koi no michibiki* (吉原恋の道引 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara'), discussed at length further on.

When arguing for the importance of paintings in Moronobu's work, the first aspect to be underlined is the chronological primacy of paintings over prints. For instance, the Tōkyō National Museum scroll bears inscriptions as far back as 1672. If these dates are to be

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<sup>301</sup> For a recent overview of the role of paintings in the history of the *ukiyo-e* genre, see Yasumura 2013 chapter 10, especially pp. 180-1.

<sup>302</sup> Although Kobayashi 1996 pp. 37-38 demarcates between ready-made paintings and specially commissioned paintings, it is difficult to argue for their delimitation based on quality of craftsmanship alone. For the purposes of my argument, I therefore discuss them together as painted sources.

<sup>303</sup> The circumstances of its assembly are a subject of debate. In Kobayashi and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1994 p. 208, Ōkubo argues that the fragments were assembled around 1820 by a group of *kyōka* poets including Ōta Nanpo. See Kobayashi 1996 p. 38 and Uchida Kinzō in Kobayashi and Idemitsu Bijutsukan 1996 pp. 193-194.

<sup>304</sup> See for example the 'Scenes in a theatre tea-house' in the collection of the British Museum Asia JA JP 1375 (1881.12-10.1710), or 'Early Evening at a Yoshiwara Inn' in the Feinberg Collection – Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 2013 cat. 71.

trusted,<sup>305</sup> they then prove that Moronobu was painting scenes of Yoshiwara much earlier than 1678, the year when woodblock-printed images of Yoshiwara by Moronobu started to appear. The precedence of paintings is supported by a comparative study on the depiction of facial features across Moronobu's work, which concludes that Moronobu's style changed first in painted works, and only after was this stylistic change reflected in prints.<sup>306</sup> The conclusion that emerges runs counter to the focus of previous research: paintings preceded prints in Moronobu's work both chronologically and stylistically.<sup>307</sup> In other words, it was prints which copied paintings, and not the other way around.

This change of perspective enables a reappraisal of the many examples of single-sheet prints, as well as illustrated books, which are hand-coloured. These include not only sheets from the 'Views of Yoshiwara' series, but also from erotic prints series, as well as hand-coloured versions of 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara.'<sup>308</sup> Many of these examples show skill and experience, suggesting the work of a professional illustrator such as one of Moronobu's disciples. There has been no in-depth discussion of these artworks because they sit uneasily in-between the categories of paintings and prints.<sup>309</sup> However, once hand-colouring is recognised as an integral part of the artistic practice of the time, the question of why this was done emerges. I argue that the single sheet prints were striving to be paintings. In other words, they were cheaper versions of paintings, one of the alternatives made possible by Moronobu's multi-format visual production in the burgeoning economic climate of the city of Edo. I therefore propose that, rather than setting up polar categories of painting and print, Moronobu's visual production should be seen as located on a continuum between monochrome woodblock prints and lavish illustrated scrolls and screens.

I propose to verify this hypothesis through the analysis of the spatial characteristics of

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<sup>305</sup> In Kobayashi and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1994 p. 209, Ōkubo points out that, on the scroll fragment dated 1672, instead of the signature 'Hishikawa Kichibee' which the artist used at the time, is written instead 'Hishikawa Moronobu', which is not documented earlier than 1678. Therefore, the possibility that the signatures and dates were added later cannot be excluded.

<sup>306</sup> Uchida 2000 p. 20.

<sup>307</sup> This conclusion is similar to the view expressed in Kobayashi and MOA Bijutsukan 1997 p. 214: 'within the Japanese visual culture of Moronobu's time, paintings were certainly more valuable than prints, which had the status of low quality versions of high-quality painted works, aimed at the broad urban public who could not afford paintings.'

<sup>308</sup> See Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2000 cat. 85 and Clark and Morse 2001 cat. 11.

<sup>309</sup> A poignant example of this is found in Michener 1954: while noting the careful colouring techniques (p. 26 and 28), the author then stresses the effort put into cleaning up the image chosen to illustrate the set, 'to get rid of the obnoxious colors' (p. 262). This is due to the fact that the author was working within a print paradigm which monopolized the evaluation of Moronobu's work.

Moronobu's iconography of Yoshiwara across various formats. How would a print look like to someone who had only seen painted formats? Wouldn't a double-spread resemble the fold of a screen? How does a new format such as a single-sheet print avoid being confused with a cheap outline of a painting?

A relevant study case is 'Yoshiwara's appearance,' a series of twelve single-sheet prints which illustrates a night's revelry to and through Yoshiwara. Figures looking outwards or backwards, beyond the space of the image, are extensively featured (fig. 52). This device is often used in Moronobu's work to unite the composition. Spatial cohesion is achieved by looking: there is a dialogue of flirtatious gazes running through the composition.<sup>310</sup> The glancing figures thus have the agency of spatial binders. When glancing outwards at the edge of the image, they imply a reciprocating glance in the space beyond. A painted example of this process can be found in a depiction of Yoshiwara on a folding screen made in Moronobu's studio (fig. 53). The figures glance across golden clouds, contradicting the clouds' function of dividing space. Overall, in Moronobu's works there is a proliferation of deictic spatial markers, by which I mean elements of the image which draw attention to its space.<sup>311</sup> I argue that this signifies the self-awareness of a print format eager to develop new modes of articulating space which would distinguish it from painting.

The proliferation of deictic markers makes it possible to imagine 'Views of Yoshiwara' as a series of images designed with a larger spatial format in mind. A contemporary viewer might have imagined golden clouds framing the images, just like on a folding screen. If observed closely, some of the images in the series have chipped outlining lines. These correspond to the shapes of golden clouds, to be added later by hand-colouring. Notice, for example, the roof in the upper left of figure 52. This implies a space provided by a medium on which the single-sheet prints would be assembled. I propose that the single sheets from the series 'Yoshiwara's appearance' were originally conceived to be pasted onto something else. This could have meant an album format, which was already part of the *fūzoku-ga* repertoire. And indeed,

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<sup>310</sup> As previously pointed out in Clark and Morse 2001 p. 23: 'When glances are thrown or exchanged within a painting or print by Moronobu, and even more so in works by his presumably younger contemporary Sugimura Jihei (active c. 1681-98), they are invariably flirtatious: people "cruise" one another in a sexual manner.' Also in Lane 1978 p. 46: 'Cover any one of the figures in the left-hand scene, for example, and you will discover how tightly interwoven is the whole – and the extent to which the figures have become individuals and the composition reduced to its basic dramatic elements. There is an unseen bond between every figure in a Moronobu composition.'

<sup>311</sup> I use the term 'deictic marker' according to Bryson 1983.

Moronobu's studio did produce albums with scenes of leisure loosely related to Yoshiwara.<sup>312</sup> The most direct testimony of how single-sheet prints would have been assembled is provided by a handscroll produced by assembling the thirteen printed sheets of the sister series *Ueno hanami no tei* (上野花見の躰 'Views of Flower Viewings at Ueno') and carefully painting clouds and colourful details over them (fig. 54).<sup>313</sup>

The conclusion emerging from these examples is that single sheet prints were modelled on the extended spatial layout of the larger formats of painted scrolls and folding screens. Only after thus reconsidering Moronobu's painting practice as preceding and informing his printed production may one begin to re-assess the pioneering work effected by Moronobu in the alternative print formats. This reassessment must start from the realisation that the *ehon* (絵本 'illustrated printed book') was a novelty for Moronobu's time: it was not yet an autonomous format. It still kept a strong relationship to other bigger formats, such as screens or scrolls. Any design that Moronobu printed was a potential subject for a custom screen or scroll. Some books by Moronobu are very clearly assemblies of such designs.<sup>314</sup> This factor provides an explanation for the large number of human figures glancing out of the frame. They are longing to be integrated into a bigger format, whether assembled into an album or pasted on a screen.

Coming back to the discussion of space, in all of the above visualizations the trip to Yoshiwara emerges as a modular assembly of sites. They correspond to what Certeau describes as 'conjunctive loci' forming a landscape out of 'enlarged singularities and separate islands'.<sup>315</sup> 'Islands' are mentioned here in the sense of clusters of perception. Therefore, both in the context of maps of the home territory and of representations of the trip to Yoshiwara, 'islands' can be seen not as geographical sites, but as clusters of difference located relationally to the home territory. In this sense, Moronobu's images configure the experience of visiting the prostitution quarters according to a topological space, just as in Gyōki-type maps. This process exemplifies how representations and their associated spatial techniques contributed to the blurring of categories of experienced and simulated space. The spatial techniques of Moronobu's images converted the contemporary audience's experiences of space into material

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<sup>312</sup> For example, a folding screen mounted with six separate scenes, reproduced in Kobayashi and Idemitsu Bijutsukan 1996 cat. 13.

<sup>313</sup> Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2000 cat. 51 and p. 215, fig. I-8.

<sup>314</sup> I am referring to the many titles which include the term *e-tsukushi* ('picture collection'): *Bijin-e tsukushi* (1683), *Yamato-e tsukushi* (1686).

<sup>315</sup> Certeau 1984 p. 101.

objects. This creates a topological space of representation in which spatial practice and representational spaces merged and folded around and into each other. The imbrication between the material presence of the space of experience and that of representation meant that visual objects had the potential to reimagine spatial practice.<sup>316</sup>

#### 4.2.2. The Spatial Structure of 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara'

An illustration of Moronobu's exploration of spatial devices in the print format is 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' from 1678 (fig. 55).<sup>317</sup> The reader is taken from the central space of Edo to the peripheral space of Yoshiwara. Alterity tropes are scarce, and go no further than the rhetorical *tennin no sumika* ('abode of the heavenly beings'). This was foremost a practical guide. However, as a visual representation, it used the same techniques as other formats for configuring a topological space of the visit through modular sites. The important difference in the spatial layout of 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' is the prominence of frames which define autonomous spatial clusters. As detailed below, the spaces of the double-spreads begins to function on their own as iconic scenes, while references to larger spaces diminish in importance.

##### 4.2.2.a The Sancha Scene

Figure 55 shows customers congregating towards the display of prostitutes from the category of *sancha*.<sup>318</sup> The open latticework specific to *sancha* establishments allows a see-through effect which, like a peepshow, produces both titillation and detachment. The content of Moronobu's imagery was not particularly innovative. There are obvious similarities with earlier depictions of prostitution quarters in *fūzoku-ga* works (fig. 56).<sup>319</sup> Therefore, Moronobu is here adapting the painted imagery of the capital's prostitution quarters to the new space of Yoshiwara. However, there are differences compared to pre-existing visual formats. Immediately striking is the winding accolade-like double borders delimitating image from text (fig. 55).<sup>320</sup> These frame in and cut out the content of the images. The accolade frame separates

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<sup>316</sup> Inspired by Reed 2010.

<sup>317</sup> For a brief analysis see Clark and Morse 2001 p. 78. An extended discussion and English translation in Nagata 2000.

<sup>318</sup> Literally meaning 'powdered tea,' which refers to the origin of this category in former teahouse girls. Seigle 1993 pp. 87-88.

<sup>319</sup> 'House of Pleasure, Prostitution quarter,' reproduced in Tsuji 2000 cats. 1-2.

<sup>320</sup> The following analysis is indebted to Watanabe 2007.



the image from its surrounding space. The illusion of contiguity between the viewer's space and the space inside the image is no longer sustained.<sup>321</sup> The prominence of the accolade frame marks its function as a deictic marker. This creates an effect of visual 'estrangement' on the viewer.<sup>322</sup>

At the same time, the inclusion of such a prominent deictic marker within the image introduces a dimension of authority. The accolade frame draws attention to a scenography deliberated by the author of the image. It sets up two qualitatively different spaces while highlighting the agency of the image maker. It therefore says something about itself as a new format – it is self-referential.<sup>323</sup> Therefore, along with being a guide to a new physical space, 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' was a guide to a new format and its accompanying spatial devices.

The understanding of the mechanisms at work in Moronobu's image is facilitated by the comparison with an elite image: Kano Tan'yū's 1642 painting of Tokugawa Ieyasu as dreamt by his grandson Iemitsu (fig. 57).<sup>324</sup> The intended single viewer, Iemitsu, is being shown a hallowed vision of a realm beyond normal existence. This is indicated by the pulled back curtain, which creates a frame marking the boundary between two ontologically different spaces. Along with the gabled roof, this sets up a privileged glimpse of another world beyond normal experience. Similarly, borders outside Moronobu's images offer glimpses into a world suspended from ordinary existence. There is another point of resemblance: Tan'yū's painting depicts a dream vision of divinely sanctioned authority. The flimsical contours of the borders in 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' were parodying this ideological weight.<sup>325</sup>

Coming back to figure 55, an important aspect of the spatial layout of the image is its

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<sup>321</sup> Cf. Arnheim 1982 p. 52: 'The frame makes its appearance when the work is no longer considered an integral part of the social setting, but a statement about that setting... The frame indicates that the viewer is asked to look at what he sees in the picture not as a part of the world in which he lives and acts, but as a statement about that world, at which he looks from the outside – a representation of the viewer's world. This implies that the matter seen in a picture is not to be taken as a part of the world's inventory but as a carrier of symbolic meaning.'

<sup>322</sup> I borrow this term from Uspensky 1973 p. 131, where the function of the frame is related to the phenomenon of 'estrangement' (ru. *Ostranenie*).

<sup>323</sup> 'Stoichiță has shown how every frame/embrace – whether niche, window, door or frame – was important because each opening could be regarded as an 'autobiographical confession' of its genre's historic evolution toward becoming an independent image.' Stoichiță 1997 pp. 44, 55, *passim*, quoted in Mochizuki 2009 p. 124.

<sup>324</sup> One of eight extant portraits of this kind in the collection of Rinnōji temple in Nikkō. Reproduced in Hatada 2000 cat. 134. Another version reproduced in Watson 1981 cat. 3. For a detailed discussion of these portraits see Gerhart 2004.

<sup>325</sup> Thank you to Shane McCausland for pointing out the light-hearted nature of the borders.

encoding of the feminine gender as belonging to *oku*, the inner space.<sup>326</sup> The image is a miniature of the larger female-only space of the Yoshiwara, and therefore encapsulates gender relationships within the prostitution quarter. The framing role of the accolade frame is supplemented by the latticework surrounding the raised floor of the *sancha* establishment. This supplementary frame effectively seals off a female-only inner space. The image is rendered in the spatial framing technique of *fukinuki yatai* ('blown-roof'), inherited from the illustrated scroll tradition, which allows interior views while preserving spatial demarcations. This visual technique has been linked to a specific dynamics of a voyeuristic male gaze penetrating a feminine space.<sup>327</sup> In this case, not only the male customers, but also the tobacco pipe-smoking watchman is facing toward the prostitutes. Together, these male figures are focalizers which function as alter egos of the external viewer, drawing his gaze towards the cluster of feminine presence. The feminine inner space becomes the only focus of interest – the interior furnishings being reduced to a minimum.<sup>328</sup>

This near-perfect enclosure of the feminine reminds us of the absence of the female voice in a representation of the space of the prostitution quarters which is authored by and intended for men. However, there is a detail which could be a comment on the prostitutes' point of view. One of them is looking back toward the Kano-style trunk and leaves in a landscape painted on the panel behind. She is disconnected from the scene. It could be just a pose, but there is also a sense of longing for escape. No clue to this is given in the text. Could it be a visual comment on the prostitutes' longing for escape, not only from their latticework cage, but also from the male-dominated discourse in which they are framed?

I have traced seven versions of the iconography of figure 55 in visual sources from the 1670s and 1680s (appendix). Most of them are assigned to Moronobu's studio. By comparing iconographical differences across these versions, I draw connections between formats, audiences and differing representations of space. Although some of these versions in book illustration form are associated to texts, the core of my analysis is the interpretation of their

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<sup>326</sup> My interpretation is inspired by a similar 'gender coded polarity' between a female interior space and a male exterior space, analysed in Wu 1996 p. 94. A parallel case is that of the association of the feminine with the 'inner quarters' in Ming literati culture, with connotations of privacy and eroticism – see Carlitz 1997 pp. 110-11.

<sup>327</sup> Croissant 2005 p. 105: 'Exposure of intimate spaces to the spectator's gaze connotes an "indiscretion" that psychoanalytical studies of modern media would consider typical of masculine desire to see the other sex.'

<sup>328</sup> This discussion is inspired by Wu 1996 p. 64.

visual content. The range of this visual corpus will help draw larger conclusions on the spatial imaginary of the prostitution quarters in the period.

Three versions constitute the focus of my analysis: the illustration from 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' discussed above (fig. 55), one of the sheets in the 'Views of Yoshiwara' series (fig. 52), and a detail from a painted scroll (fig. 58). In this comparative analysis I will focus on two elements. The first is the framing of the entire space of the image. Unlike the visual focus on the inner feminine space in figure 55, in figure 52 the focus is split among various visual clusters.<sup>329</sup> Conversely, the gazes do not converge. In figure 52 there is no definite border, and the surrounding street is depicted, thus suggesting a bigger space, appropriate to a guide. While in figure 55, there is no urban context, and the borders are clearly marked with double lines.

In comparison, figure 58 is connected to a larger space by the backward glance of the man at the right edge of the scene. The number of male figures have been reduced, with that of a doctor added for variety. Most striking, however, is the complete removal of the latticework. The display of *sancha* prostitutes is now completely unobstructed and fully accessible to the gaze of the viewer. It is important to consider that the scroll format is designed for a single viewer. It therefore has a decidedly intimate character in comparison to a large screen.<sup>330</sup> Furthermore, the viewer of this scroll would have most probably also been its commissioner, and at any rate would have been rich enough to afford to actually acquire the services of a high-ranking prostitute. The iconography of the printed book illustration and of the painting, though almost identical in content, would have thus been different in function. While the book illustration offered a privileged vision of an experience otherwise inaccessible in real life, the scroll provided a reminder of the actual encounter with a prostitute.

The second element of comparison among the various versions is the aforementioned relationship of the feminine figures to the panel behind them. The pose of the prostitutes (whether or not any of them looks back) and the details of the panel behind them vary greatly across the nine versions. In the scroll version (fig. 58), none of the prostitutes are turning back. What difference does this bring to the spatial imaginary? My earlier interpretation of looking back as a longing for escape can be corroborated with the nature of the scroll format, which

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<sup>329</sup> My discussion of the differences between these two versions is informed by Watanabe 2007.

<sup>330</sup> For thoughts on the differences between formats, see Kobayashi 1977 p. 10.

aims at a privileged inclusion of the viewer of the scroll in the scene.<sup>331</sup> The unobstructed view nourishes the illusion of complete visual control over the prostitutes. Punning on the women's willingness to escape this control by having them glance back would have dispelled this illusion.

However, notice that it is the bird on the painted panel which is turning back (fig. 59). It also seems to fly out into the space of the garden, blurring the line between illusion and reality. Compare this with a similar illustration by Moronobu of a night-time poetic gathering from the 1678 *Bokuyō kyōka shū* (卜養狂歌集 'Collection of Haikai by Bokuyō'): the bird is not mentioned in the text,<sup>332</sup> and therefore indicates Moronobu's choice, but the space of the garden and that of the indoor scene are strictly delimited. The collusion of indoor and outdoor spaces in the painted scroll thus emerges as a distinct iconographical choice. The owner of such a scroll would have been able to do precisely this: make the illusion come true by actually purchasing the services of a prostitute. The context of appreciation of this scroll thus explains the removal of frames: the owner of this scroll would have been able to immerse himself in this spatial imaginary. This implies that, rather than drawing attention to their own space, these paintings and their derivatives pointed to a space of experience beyond them, to which the guest escaped. From the point of view of the spatial imaginary, the suggestion was that there was something beyond the earthly form of the quarters and its inhabitants, and the guest was taken along to that beyond.

A particularly creative adaptation of this iconography appears in an illustration to Saikaku's 1684 'Great Mirror of Beauties' (fig. 61). It copies the format of Moronobu's illustrations, but Saikaku, an Osaka author, was most probably inspired by one of the versions in prostitute critiques which would have circulated between Edo and Osaka more readily than paintings.<sup>333</sup> Although during this period Yoshiwara could only be visited during the day, a night lamp is featured to create an artificial night scene.<sup>334</sup> This is corroborated with the butterflies and chrysanthemums which together conjure up the poetic image of amorous yearnings over the long autumn nights. The scene might, for example, evoke a poem from the classical tradition

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<sup>331</sup> I owe the term 'privileged inclusion' to Timon Screech.

<sup>332</sup> Kokusho Kankōkai 1908 vol. 10 p. 370.

<sup>333</sup> Saikaku might have been directly inspired by the version in *Yoshiwara hito tabane* (吉原人たばね 'A Bundle of Personages from Yoshiwara'), the only other featuring a night lamp (see appendix).

<sup>334</sup> For a discussion of the day-only visits to Yoshiwara see Mitamura 1975 vol. 11 pp. 354-56.

such as Bo Jui's description of the emperor Minghuang longing for Yang Guifei:

In the nighttime palace hall, as fireflies flew,  
He would yearn for her grievously;  
When autumn lamps had wicks picked to the end,  
Still he could not sleep...<sup>335</sup>

Exceptionally for this iconography, the illustration is preceded by a text which parallels the image: a young man falls for the *sancha* girl Tamakazura and woos her with poetic references to autumn such as returning geese, as well as comparing her looks to that of Yang Guifei. The story is conventional, but it is preceded by another story of higher relevance to my argument, describing a festive scene on the occasion of an apprentice girl's promotion:

The apprentice girl formerly in the service of the retired courtesan Izumi from Yoshiwara's Miura House was being launched in service.<sup>336</sup> At the gate of the house of assignation [*ageya*] Iseya owned by Kuzaemon, the steamed buns to be given away were piled mountain-high. In the garden there was an island stand [*shimadai*] gilded in gold and silver. There were sake barrels tied with bracken-root rope and giveaway fish boxes. The assortment of colours in the robes of guests was as if the Cloth-covered Mountain [*kinukake yama*] of old had been moved here. Such a display was unseen even in the capital. The atmosphere was set by Zenzaemon and Gimpō Shinsuke on the drums. Halfway through the feast, a samurai from the Shitaya suji street brought out a cedar box covered with a five-coloured net for today's celebration. It was decorated with an assortment of plants such as Susuki grass and clover as if on a field blown by autumn winds. When opening the lid, quails emerged out of gold powder and started crying. It was so touching to see each of them try to fly away. After gazing at this for a long time, a courtesan said with a heavy heart: 'Just like the

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<sup>335</sup> In *Wakan rōeishū* (和漢朗詠集 'Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing') 781 (Rimer 1984 p. 72), original text in Sugano and Fujiwara 1999 p. 406.

<sup>336</sup> The term used for the girl apprentice, 新艘 (literally 'new boat') invites a naval metaphor.

caged birds long for the clouds, so do we who live in the quarters.' Then she opened the southern blinds, rejoiced without saying a word, and soared away. It is only in Edo that such a thing can happen.

The story plays on the generic association of prostitutes with birds, especially in reference to their voice, as in this fragment from Asai Ryōi's 1666 *Ukiyo monogatari* (浮世物語 'Tales from the Floating World'): 'Her voice of greeting is lovely, like the first sound of nightingale as it darts forth from a narrow valley: "You've come at last! Come to me quickly!"'<sup>337</sup> This association is also found in the description of Yachiyo in the 1675 prostitute critique 'Visiting the Teahouses with a Shredded Umbrella': 'As she plays a tune, it's as if you're listening to the Kalavinka bird of paradise and lose your senses.'<sup>338</sup> The last sentence from the above quote – 'it is only in Edo that such a thing can happen' – extends the qualitative difference of the space of the prostitution quarter to the entire urban space of Edo. In other words, the heterotopic traits of the prostitution quarter contaminate the entirety of Edo's space. This is exactly what the shogunal administration was trying to avoid when placing Yoshiwara outside the city centre.

The new development here is that the association with ideal spaces goes beyond spatial dislocation. The contact with the prostitution quarters and their spatially idealized denizens allows the male guest to experience a transformation of his identity. Identitary displacement is coupled with spatial displacement, such as in the earlier example from 'Account of Famous Places Along the Tōkaidō Road': 'If they tune their shamisen and play you a song, you feel like you've become a heavenly king and are in the company of Han E or Consort Yu.'

#### 4.2.2.b The Ageya Scene

Let's analyse a different double-spread from the same 'Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' (fig. 62). The winding double border is echoed by an element within the image: the gabled window. The gabled window started out as an attribute of Buddhist architecture and by extension was included in the iconography of Paradise or the undersea Dragon Palace. It was a common

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<sup>337</sup> Lane's translation in Shirane 2002 p. 32, original text in Asai 2007 p. 330.

<sup>338</sup> Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 2 p. 407. Compare with the translation in Elisonas 1994 p. 255. The quote contains an allusion to the description of prince Genji's dance in the *Momiji no ga* chapter from the 'Tale of Genji': 'His singing of the verse could have been the Lord Buddha's kalavinka voice in paradise' Murasaki Shikibu 2003 p. 135.

feature of visualizations of China in paintings from the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>339</sup> The gabled window was then included in the iconography of *fūzoku-ga* (fig. 41a). Later in the seventeenth century, the gabled window appears in depictions of the space of the prostitution quarters. For example, it is astutely used by Moronobu to parody the image of the classical poet Izumi Shikibu, in a visual appropriation which preserves both the descriptive function, related to the Miidera temple, and the association with the vernacular architecture of the prostitution quarters (fig. 63).<sup>340</sup> In the transition from illustrating a vague location outside normal experience to a specific location outside Japanese cities, tropes of foreignness were thus blended with tropes of the home territory to produce the hybrid image of a space of entertainment.

This phenomenon was not restricted to visual representations: gabled windows are featured extensively in one of the few surviving examples of the architecture of the prostitution quarters of the time: the Sumiya house in Osaka's Shimabara quarters.<sup>341</sup> Both the *Ajiro no Ma* room on the first floor and the *Aogai no Ma* room on the second floor featured gabled windows.<sup>342</sup> The latter room is especially relevant to this discussion: it was profusely inlaid with mother-of-pearl and Chinese elements such as a landscape scene, constructing an exotic space designed for spatial dislocation. This rare example shows that the spatial imaginary was not restricted to visual representations – it was also embodied in the vernacular architecture of the period.

A similar phenomenon is detectable in an image from a very different context: an illustration to the 'companion tale' *Zeraku Monogatari* (是楽物語 'The Tale of Zeraku') (fig. 64). The protagonist falls asleep and dreams of an encounter with a prostitute. The space of reality and that of the dream are delimited by an alcove with an image of Bodhidharma and a gabled window. While these are attributes of the temple setting of the story, they also function as deictic markers, pointing to a difference in the nature of the two spaces. The gabled window is especially relevant because it enables a see-through effect. In the original scenario, the devout

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<sup>339</sup> For example, the window of the palace housing Yang Guifei on Mount Penglai in the screen illustrated in Toda et al. 1980 cats. 71-72. The wavy framing device for Chinese exotica was not restricted to the window: see the backrest of Yang Guifei's chair in Toda et al. 1980 cat. 76. For a discussion of this topic, see Watanabe 2007.

<sup>340</sup> For a discussion of visualizations of Murasaki Shikibu writing the 'Tale of Genji' at Miidera by lake Biwa, see Kornicki 2005 pp. 171-72.

<sup>341</sup> Sumiya's oldest section dates to 1640, and most of it is from a restoration from the 1670s (Nakagawa 1989).

<sup>342</sup> Nishi and Hozumi 1985 pp. 129-131 and Nakagawa 1989 cats. 5 and 15. For a catalogue of objects in the Sumiya collection, including exotic objects, see Kano 1992.

protagonist would read sutras and thereby reach enlightenment and the Pure Land. Instead, the lay character Zeraku reads prostitute critiques and imagines the actual encounter, a spoof of enlightenment. The gabled window is co-opted into this updated scenario to demarcate an inner dream space (*oku*). The painted panel on the left, facing the veranda, depicts a scene on an arcadian theme of agricultural works. The fluid undulations of the rice fields and clouds are paralleled by the underhems of the characters in the inner space.

Returning to figure 62, notice that the gabled window is placed on the *engawa* ('veranda'), which in itself is a liminal area, belonging to two spaces at once without completely separating them. The *engawa* is concomitantly the frontier that separates and the line that links two worlds.<sup>343</sup> The gabled window had the same function: that of marking a threshold between normal world and otherworld. It is accompanied by *kaikō*, decorative floral openings which were common features of Ming period woodblock printed book illustrations. Material tropes of foreignness were therefore used in the configuration of a space of alterity characterized by spatial displacement. However, there was a difference from a space such as *Aogai no Ma*: the space was not coherently 'foreign' anymore – it was a mix of home and foreign space. On the bridge, also a marker of liminal space, a female attendant turns towards another to her rear. Here, the backward glance was coupled with the spatial liminality of the bridge. Moronobu used the same visual structure two years later in a book on garden designs, *Yokei tsukuri niwa no zu* (余景作り庭の図 'Garden Designs for Creating Specific Views') (fig. 65). It is a gratuitous detail, not dictated by the text: an example of how Moronobu employed this pose wherever he could, effectively decontextualizing it. The image in figure 62 still retained an architectural trope of foreignness in the form of the gabled window. There was also a sense of connectedness to the previous illustration which shows the preparation of the dishes being brought by the servants. In figure 65, however, the space was configured entirely with tropes of home territory. A suggestion of connectivity to the space outside the frame to the right was retained, but all tropes of foreignness disappeared. Even the backward glance lost its connotations of otherworldliness, aside from its spatial liminality. Moronobu effectively appropriated it as one of his brand images. It was now a display of a beautiful silhouette, a mannerism. It became a mere hint, a touch of liminality in a home setting. In Moronobu's images, this degree of liminality was expressed not through the space of architecture, but through the space defined

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<sup>343</sup> Inspired by Isozaki 1985 p. 18.



by intersecting glances. Moronobu's paintings of single feminine figures construct a space around the painting, incorporating the space of the viewer, which in this way becomes momentarily transposed into a liminal state.

In the printed book illustrations, however, architectural elements play a more prominent role. Another look into the above illustrations to 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara' (fig. 68) reveals further space delimiters: the bridge and the exotic window, providing additional layers of frames to suggest the qualitative difference of the inner space of leisure. These have the effect of leading the gaze further and further inside the image. This configures a centripetal gaze, punctuated by centrifugal glances which are checked by the strongly marked frame. In contrast, in 'Views of Yoshiwara' these centrifugal glances had reached beyond the visual space. They were therefore conceived as being part of a larger space, which shows their indebtedness to large painting formats.

This device of drawing in the viewer's gaze through the use of spatial delimiters is one of the innovations which Moronobu brought to print design.<sup>344</sup> This technique is particularly prominent in Moronobu's erotic works (fig. 66). Besides constantly experimenting with border designs, Moronobu used indoor paraphernalia – screens, carpets – to emphasize a space of intimacy both disclosed and enfolded.<sup>345</sup> These spatial delimiters have been described in terms of 'partitions' (jp. *shikiri*) as elements of spatial structure constructed from the framing effect of interior furniture.<sup>346</sup> In Moronobu's erotic works, jumping from one scenario to the next with every page, the implied enfoldment is apparently discarded – the viewer is in the midst of the action. But an enfolding environment is always to be reconstructed: nestling devices serve to provide a compressed context.

While using techniques from painting formats, Moronobu devised these partitions to emphasize the autonomy and allure of the print format. The elements from pictorial practice can be seen as familiarizing and authenticating. Moronobu elevated the status of prints by recombining formal pictorial elements. The spatial deixis of Moronobu's prints condensed and simulated the intimacy of the painting format. Parts of the sequence were then omitted and the remaining visual clusters were made to stand for the rest. The viewer had to interactively

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<sup>344</sup> That being said, there is still research to be done on the influence of Ming prints on the visual culture of the late seventeenth century – see note 271. Watanabe 2007 points to Chinese export ceramics as possible sources of the accolade border design in Moronobu printed works.

<sup>345</sup> Watanabe 2007.

<sup>346</sup> Miyazaki 2011.

reconstruct the whole sequence.

### 4.3. Representation and Experience

#### 4.3.1. The Beauty in the Alcove

This chapter has discussed the spatial devices used in Hishikawa Moronobu's representations of the experience of visiting the prostitution quarters. In the remainder of this chapter, I will expand on the relationship between representation and experience configured in Moronobu's work. The starting point is another example of the idealization of the space of Yoshiwara: in the 1675 *kana zōshi Moto no Mokuami* (元のもくあみ物がたり 'Tale of Same Old Mokuami'), the eponymous protagonist is visiting Yoshiwara. In one of the *ageya* ('top brothel') he meets the high-ranking prostitute Takao:

She made her appearance in the room accompanied by attendants, lighting the air around her and emitting a strong fragrance. She stood by the pillar near the alcove and exclaimed: 'So this is our precious guest.' Her voice like the chirping of the bird of paradise, whose sound you can hear but on which you do not lay your eyes, he was like the bush warbler longing for spring and bringing forth its first song, or the cuckoo on a rainy evening in the fifth month singing among the citrus flowers. The happiness in Mokuami's heart knew no bounds, and he was wondering whether the medicine Buddha residing in his Eastern Paradise could have truly descended to this world of illusion and mingled with such an uncouth guy like him.<sup>347</sup>

More than just an ideal projection of an amorous encounter is described. The transformation of the male subject's identity is triggered by the encounter with the prostitute. The architectural element of the alcove forms the background to the wondrous apparition of the prostitute. In the inner space of the screen (fig. 67), a hanging scroll is displayed in the alcove. It depicts a prostitute and is signed with the artist's name: Morohira. Just as in Moronobu's

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<sup>347</sup> Kishi 1971 pp. 311-2. Notice the association of the courtesan's voice with the bird of paradise, discussed in the previous chapter. Hishikawa Moronobu illustrated the 1680 edition of this text (see appendix).

parody of the image of Murasaki Shikibu in figure 63, Morohira's prostitute embodies the pose of a classical court poet, using the technique of playful adaptation (jp. *mitate*).<sup>348</sup> The situation depicted is one in which both the prostitute and her idealized painted representation are present in the same space. It is as if Lady Gaga and her poster were present in the same room. This sets up a complex relationship between the physical presence of the person and that of her representation. I argue that this juxtaposition set up a dialogue between two ontological entities. This was achieved both in terms of how they inhabited space and of how they projected each other's image. A symbiotic relationship was set up between the animate and the inanimate.<sup>349</sup> This was the deeper significance of *mitate*: it enabled the coexistence of two parallel time-spaces in the same dimension. To understand this process, it is important to remember the original function of the alcove – that of displaying religious images.<sup>350</sup> Moronobu's images, I argue, had a similar but intensified immediacy of presence. However, the depicted person was no longer venerable and dead, she was inviting and alive. This was the innovation and appeal of *fūzoku-ga* and *ukiyo-e*: they depicted living persons, the encounter with whom was thus made the more plausible.

#### 4.3.2. Beauty Looking Back and Beyond

Seventeenth century *bijin-ga* (美人画 'pictures of beautiful women') inherited their aura of presence from religious iconography, while concomitantly refashioning entertainers as mundane contemporary counterparts to sacred figures.<sup>351</sup> An oft-quoted example of 'pictures of

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<sup>348</sup> Figure 63 uses the same device. Moronobu's first recorded work were *kasen-e* style illustrations to *Hyakunin isshu* in 1672. On *mitate* see Clark 1997 and Haft 2013.

<sup>349</sup> This paragraph is indebted to discussions with George Tselios, whom I would like to thank.

<sup>350</sup> For example, in a fragment from a medieval Japanese scroll (Ford 1987 cat. 39) the monk Hōnen is ratifying his appointment of Shinran as his successor by signing a portrait of himself, with another of his portraits hung in full view. The image features an excess of representation which points to an ontological mediation: Hōnen is transferring his enlightened presence to his own representation. This happened within a process of master-disciple transmission which presupposed a transformation of identity on the part of the intended user. In other words, the images themselves did not enlighten, but they bore witness to an enlightenment which had already occurred. In a similar fashion, Morohira's image (fig. 67) bore witness to a transformative experience which precedes its visualization. Another comparative example of the agency of religious images is provided by images of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze river on a reed. Although the iconography is inherited from Chinese Chan painting tradition, the backward glance seems to have been preferred in Japan. It alludes to the narrative setting: Bodhidharma is looking back at India, the homeland of Buddhism, while crossing over to China. The glance instills a dynamism similar to that of Moronobu's image (fig. 68).

<sup>351</sup> For a discussion of religious motifs used in depictions of courtesans in the early seventeenth century, see Tatenō 2011 p. 105.

beautiful women' can now be reconsidered from the point of view of the spatial imaginary: the *Mikaeri bijin* (見返り美人 'Beauty Looking Back') dating from the early 1690s, the last years of the activity of Moronobu (fig. 68).<sup>352</sup> The sole feminine figure is depicted against a blank background in a fashionable attire: the *kichijo* hairstyle, a red comb, chrysanthemums and cherry blossoms on the intricately depicted clothing. She is flirting with liminality by glancing backward. The male figure to which the glance is addressed is outside the frame. Moronobu is working in a tradition ultimately traceable to hanging scrolls of single-standing religious figures such as Bodhidharma. But the agency of the backward glance makes Moronobu's image unusually powerful.<sup>353</sup> I propose that this is partly due to its engagement with space: the backward glance draws attention to an implied larger scene beyond the space of the image. Drawing on the above analysis of the spatial structure of Moronobu's images, it is reasonable to assume that this is a street scene located in the intermediate section of the tripartite spatial structure.

A contemporary viewer familiar with Moronobu's work would thus have perceived this figure not as isolated, but as suggestive of an interaction with another person or persons. In this way, the centrifugal gaze of the feminine figure extended the space of the painting beyond itself, engulfing the viewer and blending with the space around the painting. I propose to imaginatively place this hanging scroll in the alcove in Morohira's screen. This emplacement effectively turns the space of appreciation of the painting into a liminal space of coquetry. This happens through two processes of spatial transformation: firstly, the depiction of a generic flirting pose on the streets of Yoshiwara turns the alcove into a window to the parallel space of the prostitution quarters. Secondly, the space of appreciation itself becomes infused with the space of the prostitution quarters.

The feminine figure gazing out of the frame dissolved the pictorial space into the space of its appreciation. But it was not only the gaze that established resonances with the space around the painting. This extended and enacted pictorial space harboured the spatial agency of seventeenth century Japanese textiles.<sup>354</sup> What has often been overlooked in previous

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<sup>352</sup> Moronobu's signature on the painting includes his home province and his monastic name, leading to the assumption that he painted it in the last years before his death in 1694.

<sup>353</sup> Clark and Morse 2001 p. 23 refers to the 'extra energetic "charge" exuded by Moronobu's figures,' and describes Moronobu's figures of women as 'assertive' and having 'a considerable degree of self-determination.'

<sup>354</sup> The detailed rendering of textiles on *tagasode byōbu* ('whose sleeves?') - folding screens painted with

scholarship is that these visual renderings of cloth were haptically titillating.<sup>355</sup> Conversely, textiles delineated the space of eroticism in the emerging genre of *shunga* (erotic pictures) of the period, of which Moronobu was a prolific producer (fig. 66).<sup>356</sup> The same process is at work in 'Beauty Looking Back:' only the skin of the face is visible, everything else is wrapped in 'solid colored layers of fabric [which] form a perfect curve with the figure.'<sup>357</sup> The enveloping fabric thus hints at the sensuality of the female body inside. In this context, the view from the back acquires connotations beyond mere visual display: the beautifully displayed knot of the sash is also the place where an eventual lover would begin accessing the female body by untying the knot. A further erotic charge is provided by the juxtaposition of an empty sleeve over the sash.<sup>358</sup> This erotic marker related to touch would have triggered the imagination of the viewer. Ultimately, eroticism is one of the most potent ways of referring to a physical presence. I insist on the erotic and haptic agency of representations because they activate the 'ontological valence' of the image, establishing a palpable spatial relationship which is equivalent to the relationship to an actual prostitute.<sup>359</sup>

Equally important is that the silk on which the portrait is painted is the same material from which clothes would be made in the period. Furthermore, the painting's frame would have also been comprised of mostly textile materials.<sup>360</sup> The space of aesthetic appreciation was thus suffused with textiles. The textile material of the painting and its frame resonated with the

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clothes hung on racks - and the proliferation of *kosode mōyō hinagata bon* ('cloth pattern books') point to the importance of the sense of touch within seventeenth century Japanese culture (Guth 2011). Clothes had a double framing function: physical, as cloth racks or *tagasode* screens depicting them; and ontological, suggesting the identity of a specific woman through the details of the objects depicted. The choice of textiles would be intimately tied to the wearer's identity, so much so that displaying the clothes alone would suffice to suggest their owner: 'Edo clothing might also be used as ornament and hung for decorative effect, but it still pertained to the person who normally had it on.' Screech 2009 p. 118.

<sup>355</sup> 'The realm of the erotic, with desire always in some sense linked to what is not there, is perhaps the most powerful vehicle for representing the infinite potential and the elusiveness of touch.' Mazzio 2005 p. 91.

<sup>356</sup> 'In *shunga*, it is not female nudity which arouses the desire of the viewer, but it is the combination of fabric and flesh which work together to eroticize the scene.' Tanaka 1996 p. 64.

<sup>357</sup> NagaKornegay 2007.

<sup>358</sup> According to Screech 2009 p. 192, the sleeve was 'the most common vaginal symbol' in *shunga*.

<sup>359</sup> The expression 'ontological valence' is borrowed from Gadamer 1989 pp. 134-44. My argument is similar to that proposed in the conclusion of Freedberg's seminal study arguing 'for giving all images their full weight as reality and not merely (simply, old fashionedly) as representation,' and that 'everything about the picture and the sculpture demands that we see both it and what it represents as a piece of reality: it is on this basis that we respond. To respond to a picture or sculpture "as if" it were real is little different from responding to reality as real.' Freedberg 1989 p. 438.

<sup>360</sup> For a discussion of painting frames in this period, see Nagasaki 1994.

textiles worn or displayed by the persons who experienced the painting.<sup>361</sup> Therefore, the continuum between the pictorial space and the space of aesthetic appreciation was established not only visually through the centrifugal gaze: the presence of textiles established haptic correspondences, providing an immersive stimulation of the sense of touch.

I thus propose that the alcove in which the painting would be hung and the surrounding interior space functioned as a nested frame defined by social interaction and haptic correspondences. The stimulation of the five senses and the spatial structure was corroborated to reconstruct the sensual experience of encountering a prostitute. The representation framed the bodily experience of meeting the prostitute: the red-lacquered incense burners were there to simulate olfactory stimulation, and so on. In other words, Moronobu's image functioned as a performative icon.<sup>362</sup> Through the dynamic engagement of the senses of the appreciator, the picture came alive, revealing its ontological valence.<sup>363</sup>

Visual representations of prostitutes were thus meant to simulate the experience of actually meeting them. For example, at the beginning of Saikaku's 'Life of an Amorous Man,' the young Yonosuke 'had no actual lovers yet, so for the moment he collected alluring portraits of beautiful women.'<sup>364</sup> Here, the portraits act as a substitute for the real thing. A similar scene appears in Saikaku's second novel, 'Great Mirror of Beauties.' A male audience is contemplating a series of hanging scrolls depicting contemporary prostitutes and their autographed poems (fig. 69). Their host is pointing to them and telling the story of each prostitute as a true connoisseur. Again, the model is religious, namely the *etoki* ('picture telling') tradition.<sup>365</sup> But the difference is that the subjects of the images are real and accessible. Their portraits are thus more than simple reproductions: they share in the presence of the feminine subjects. The viewing of the portraits is a prelude or postlude to an encounter with the prostitutes, but it is

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<sup>361</sup> I'm purposely avoiding the term 'viewed' because the interaction with the painting did not only occur visually.

<sup>362</sup> The term belongs to Pentcheva, who points out in her discussion of byzantine icons that 'in its original setting, the icon performed through its materiality.' Pentcheva 2006 p. 631. For a complete discussion see Pentcheva 2010.

<sup>363</sup> In this context, Lane's analysis of 'Beauty Looking Back' can be reassessed: 'The mind behind this girl's face is a particular one found in the work of no one but Moronobu. It is not intelligence, wit or even humor that we feel, but simply a quality (concentrated particularly about the eyes) of being vividly alive' Lane 1978 p. 50. Lane's considerations support my analysis of the centrifugal gaze encompassing the appreciator within a three-dimensional folding screen space. What Lane does not discuss, though, are the haptic correspondences which stimulate the appreciator's sense of touch, enabling an immersive interaction which confers sensual reality to the painting.

<sup>364</sup> Translation by Drake in Shirane 2002 p. 49.

<sup>365</sup> For an extensive study of the *etoki* tradition see Kaminishi 2006.

also an encounter with the portraits' own presence.<sup>366</sup>

Recent studies in the field of neuroaesthetics have been able to simulate the effect of *deja-vu* (the feeling of familiarity with an unprecedented situation) by displaying images with similar spatial structures.<sup>367</sup> This research has the potential to change the way iconography is interpreted. For example, in the case of Moronobu's imagery of Yoshiwara, it can be argued that the depiction of prostitutes with poetic or flirting poses created a feeling of familiarity with their presence. In other words, the iconographical structure of the images had the capacity to simulate the experience of meeting the prostitutes even when that experience had not occurred. Another study has proved that looking at a scene which included bended wrists activated the motor centres in the brain corresponding to the wrists.<sup>368</sup> The results of these studies indicate that, in the case of Yoshiwara imagery, the accentuated sense of animation of the figures activated memory and motor centres, thereby simulating the experience of actually going there and experiencing Yoshiwara with one's own body. This approximates into a feeling of immersion on the part of the viewer, which in this way becomes momentarily transposed into a liminal state. Although more light-hearted than the religious encounter it alludes to, the immersion into the space of the prostitution quarter has the same potential of temporarily transforming the identity of its experiencer.

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<sup>366</sup> My analysis is inspired by Barthes's discussion of the photograph of his mother: 'The photograph does not call up the past (nothing Proustian in a photograph). The effect it produces upon me is not to restore what has been abolished (by time, by distance) but to attest that what I see has indeed existed.' Barthes 1981 p. 82.

<sup>367</sup> Cleary et al. 2012.

<sup>368</sup> Battaglia, Lisanby and Freedberg 2010.

## Conclusion

The accolade border is only one example of the wide range of experiments with framing devices delimitating a space of feminine beauty disconnected from ordinary existence. The resulting dialectic between the painting and print media initiated a paradigm shift in the medium of aesthetic appreciation. Starting with Moronobu, paintings had an alternative. This led to both media emphasising their autonomy by exacerbating the dynamics of their specific spatial techniques. Prints started out by imitating paintings and their space, but then they diverged, formulating their own space. The boldest designs which Moronobu produced, such as those in 'A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara,' were a result of the drive for establishing new formats. This explains the variety and prominence of frame designs in Moronobu's printed work. A new format had to delimitate its frames in order to assert itself.

In a larger sense, the discussion of the spatial dynamics in painting versus print clarifies a major change in the status of the visual image: it was no longer stabilized by the context of its commission and ownership. Anybody could now own an image, and it could be viewed anywhere. Therefore, it could no longer rely on an interaction with the space beyond it. The image was therefore framed to create an autonomous space, which drew attention to itself.

These developments were given momentum by the publishing boom starting from the 1660s - precisely the time at which the Yoshiwara moved to its peripheral location north of the urban core due to the 1657 Meireki fire. The government's enclosure of prostitution quarters provided a spatial focus to an already existing process of idealization of prostitutes. Representations of prostitution quarters proceeded to experiment with various spatial formulas which integrated tropes of ideal spaces into simulations of the actual experience of visiting the quarters. What resulted was an unprecedented blend of rehashed myth and mediated experience. In the last chapter, I follow the permeation of these material simulations of experience into a wide range of vernacular productions of the time.



## Chapter 5. Fantasy Embodied and Performed

### Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the ways in which the spatial imaginary was applied, within a range of visual formats, to spaces of entertainment at the urban periphery. In this process, the space of official norms and private experience was transformed, through various techniques, into an attractive space of representation. I take this investigation further in this final chapter, by exploring the ways in which representational spaces fed back into urban audiences' direct experience of space. More specifically, my argument in this chapter is that the representations of space analysed in the previous chapter effected a spatial and identitary dislocation which enabled the construction of alternative social identities. To explore this thesis, the discussion will revolve around the following questions: How was the spatial imaginary integrated into the construction of eccentric identities? How was the nature of representations negotiated in relationship to the performance of identity?

My analysis is inspired by theoretical thought which emphasises the fact that our understanding of the world is mediated through the physical experience of our own bodies. Merleau-Ponty can be considered the originator of this line of thought in the field of psychology.<sup>369</sup> Bachelard then applied a similar approach to interpreting poetic texts.<sup>370</sup> More recently, Lakoff and Johnson applied insights from cognitive science to philosophy, arguing that reason and abstract concepts are inextricably linked to human physiology and material metaphors.<sup>371</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, I am interested in how representations as material objects interacted with the body of their users. Therefore, the focus will be less on the visual aspect of chosen examples, and more on their agency as objects in a social context. In Lefebvre's terms, I am interested in how lived space influences perceived space. In this respect, a concept essential to my inquiry is that of performance, which I define as a set of actions that shape the way reality is defined in social and aesthetic terms. In this sense, another way to express Lefebvre's lived space is as 'performed space.' This chapter will show that the spatial imaginary was a feature of the cultural production of the time precisely because it contributed to

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<sup>369</sup> Merleau-Ponty 1962.

<sup>370</sup> Bachelard 1994.

<sup>371</sup> Lakoff and Johnson 1999.

the performance of an alternative social identity related to extraordinary and auspicious events. The last section of the second chapter, which analysed the use of foreign toponyms for alternative identities, has already broached this theme. This chapter, however, makes a stronger claim: alternative identities integrating representations of the spatial imaginary were performed in a wider range of social settings, making them a common feature of social interaction of the period. I argue that most of the vernacular production of the late seventeenth century had a performative nature. This means both that it was enacted within a specific time and space and for a specific audience, and that it had a degree of agency not customarily associated with objects of fantasy.

### 5.1. Props and Their Scenarios

Previous chapters have discussed mechanisms of 'setting-up' festive social settings through representations with reference to two sources: images of spaces of entertainment and vernacular stories. However, in order to assess the wider social agency of representations, in this chapter I consider another social context: the use of *tsukurimono* ('set-up'<sup>372</sup>) as props for wedding celebrations and other auspicious occasions. While originating in pre-seventeenth century elite wedding practices, the matrimonial function of the 'set-up' became widespread in the second half of the seventeenth century. Its imagery and function were made accessible through printed books such as *Onna shorei shū* (女諸礼集 'Collection of Rules of Etiquette for Women').<sup>373</sup> Illustrations of wedding and birth celebrations are suffused with the generically auspicious pairing of the crane with the turtle: it appears on trays, garments, folding screens etc. In one scene, the newborn is washed by women of the household, with a crane-turtle screen behind [fig. 70]. The highest concentration of crane-turtle imagery is in the section detailing wedding protocols. One especially prominent *shimadai* ('island stand,' a type of 'set-up') is depicted in a double-spread illustration (fig. 71).<sup>374</sup> Besides the crane and turtle, visible are other auspicious symbols, such as the pine and the Takasago couple. The other theme in the image is the removal of swords - notice that the swords

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<sup>372</sup> The literal translation of *tsukurimono* is 'made thing,' but I use the term 'set-up' because it reflects the polysemy of the original term, especially its connotations of human design and artificiality.

<sup>373</sup> First printed in 1660, and widely read judging from its reprints in 1683 and 1688 (Trede 2004 pp. 191-2).

<sup>374</sup> Another *shimadai* illustration from the same book is discussed in Trede 2004 pp. 191-2, 198-9, 225.

are confined to the right-hand page, delimiting a sword-free space on the left-hand page. This delimitation can be interpreted in terms of the avoidance of the interference of worldly matters with the auspicious time and space epitomized by the *tsukurimono*. At this point, it is intriguing to recall that the same interdiction of wearing swords indoors had been applied to prostitution quarters such as Yoshiwara.<sup>375</sup> This indicates that the prostitution quarters shared the same characteristic as the auspicious space delimited by the 'set-up.' To be more precise, this space can be described in terms of the concept of *hare* ('pure'), as used in Shinto studies to designate a ritually purified space associated with an extraordinary occasion.<sup>376</sup> The prostitution quarter is the equivalent of a permanent *hare* space such as Mount Penglai. Accordingly, a painting of a prostitute by Moronobu would have established a link to the permanent *hare* space of Yoshiwara in a parallel way to how a 'set-up' established a link to the permanent *hare* space of Mount Penglai. However, before considering this theory, more details are needed on late seventeenth century social practices related to 'set-ups'.

#### 5.1.1. The Precedent: 'Beach Outing'

The sung text of the sixteenth century *kowaka-mai* ballad *Hamaide* (浜出 'Beach Outing') provides one of the earliest examples of the use of a 'set-up' in an auspicious context.<sup>377</sup> A group of noblemen are celebrating over several days in the bay of Kamakura:

on the first day, the display piece was an assemblage [jp. *karakumi*]  
of Mount Penglai bearing sweet dew sake which they called the Elixir  
of Immortality. They tied a golden well bucket to a silver pole and  
used that to draw sake.

The text then continues with a paean to the virtues of sake, leading into an enumeration of the treasures piled on top of the replica of Mount Penglai: Lady Li's

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<sup>375</sup> Seigle 1993 pp. 58-9.

<sup>376</sup> *Hare* is 'a cover term for all phenomena which cause, or give evidence by association of, forces leading to life, increase and productivity through orderliness and harmony.' Namihiro 1977 p. 12.

<sup>377</sup> Araki 1964 p. 15.

lemons,<sup>378</sup> raisin pears,<sup>379</sup> Chao Fu's mandarins. These displays are best understood within the framework of the concept of *kazari* ('decoration').<sup>380</sup> This concept refers not only to the decoration on the objects themselves, but also to the physical and social circumstances in which they would have been used.<sup>381</sup> The concept of *kazari* thus has a strong performative aspect, and implies interaction with and participation from the audience.<sup>382</sup> In other words, *kazari* involves an extraordinary time and space, a synaesthesia and a spatio-temporal blend between the work and its audience. 'Set-ups' are representative examples of *kazari* aesthetics. They enable celebration by blending the here and now with the there and then of a mythical construct. In a festive social occasion, the reference to other worlds served as a common denominator, easing the interaction and the dissolution of tensions between the various participants.

### 5.1.2. The Double 'Set-up'

A description of a banquet employing a 'set-up' is included in the 'companion tale' *Iwaya no soshi* (岩屋の草紙 'The Story of Iwaya'). The plot is similar to that of Cinderella: a young princess is left to die on a rock in the sea after her mother had died and the father had remarried.<sup>383</sup> The princess is found by fishermen and brought up in a cave. A young prince then falls in love with her and brings her to his parents. They decide to change their son's feelings by humiliating this 'fisherman's daughter' in a competition with four distinguished princesses. For this occasion, 'it was decided for an exquisite 'set-up' of Mount Penglai to be built [jp. *karakumi*]. One hundred skilled craftsmen were gathered, and by the ninth month they had put the final touch.'<sup>384</sup> On the day of the competition, 'the Mount Penglai 'set-up' is brought out,' and the protagonist, the Maiden of Iwaya, starts elaborating on the legends about Mount Penglai while looking at its replica. Representations of this scene customarily feature the iconography of a turtle carrying a rock on its back. Of special interest is the version which includes the

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<sup>378</sup> The original reads *tachibana*, a type of inedible green citrus fruit (*Citrus Tachibana*) native to the Kyūshū area and considered auspicious because of its exoticism. I translated 'lemon' for the alliteration.

<sup>379</sup> *Kenpo no nashi* 玄圃の梨 in the original. Fruit of *Hovenia dulcis*, also called 'oriental raisin tree.'

<sup>380</sup> Tsuji 1998, Rousmaniere 2002. Tsuji defines the characteristics of *kazari* as fantasy, surprise, improvisation, extraordinariness and movement (Rousmaniere 2002 pp. 18-19).

<sup>381</sup> Rousmaniere 2002 pp. 20-21.

<sup>382</sup> See Yamaguchi 1996 for a discussion of the performative aspect of *kazari*.

<sup>383</sup> This summary is based on Tokuda 2002 pp. 163-64.

<sup>384</sup> Original text in Ichiko 1989 p. 247.

illustration reproduced in figure 72.<sup>385</sup> It features the type of ‘set-up’ encountered earlier, called *suhamadai* (洲浜台 ‘beach stand’). The protagonist and its feminine audience are depicted gathered around the ‘set-up.’<sup>386</sup> This in itself is a relatively unproblematic illustration of the narrative. However, in this version a second representation of the ‘set-up’ is inserted: a lively turtle carrying a rock seemingly made out of cloth of various colours, removed from the main scene. As previously discussed, this was an iconographical set commonly associated with Mount Penglai. Furthermore, the caption identifies it as ‘Mount Penglai.’ To explain the significance of this double representation, I propose that in the visual narrative setting of this image, the ‘beach stand’ would have been the actual object which the participants in the scene were beholding. Although the other representation of Mount Penglai is also in the form of a more elaborate ‘set-up,’ the relationship with the ‘beach stand’ suggests that it is a more abstract representation. The rock-carrying turtle can therefore be interpreted as the participants’ mental image of Mount Penglai. This mental image corresponds to the shape of the ‘real’ Mount Penglai. In other words, this is how Mount Penglai is supposed to look like, while the ‘beach stand’ is the physical ‘set-up’ of this ‘real’ Mount Penglai. In other illustrated versions of this story, the Mount Penglai ‘set-up’ is illustrated straightforwardly as a rock-carrying turtle. So it is the excess of representation in figure 72 which uncovers the mechanisms of envisioning the otherworld.

Thus, the role of the ‘set-up’ is to stand in for something else. It is a prop that brings the otherworld to the here and now. It temporarily transforms the space in which it is displayed into the otherworld itself. Or rather it blends the spatio-temporal fabric of this world with that of the otherworld, enabling a virtual space of auspicious interaction. This mechanism of engaging with a mythical space parallels the network of sacred sites connected by underground tunnels in medieval Japanese lore. Underground tunnels were thought to connect caves or lake bottoms to aquatic otherworlds such as the Dragon Palace or Kannon’s Paradise. This network has been compared to a sacred power grid.<sup>387</sup> An equally valid analogy is that of the ‘set-up’ as a modem unit which establishes a wireless connection with the renewing auspicious energies of the otherworld.

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<sup>385</sup> I would like to thank Tokuda Kazuo for pointing my attention to this illustration. A discussion of ‘The Tale of Iwaya’ is included in Tokuda 1988.

<sup>386</sup> Described as ‘an elaborately decorated landscape display ... a small-scale reproduction of an island in the sea, featuring a sandy shoreline or cove beach’ (Shirane 2012 p. 145).

<sup>387</sup> Smits 2012 p. 41.

Coming back to figure 72, it is important to point out a further dimension to this image: it is part of a manuscript book which in itself can be considered a 'set-up:' it has an auspicious content, it is displayed (and not necessarily read) in an auspicious context, and is placed on or in front of the *tokonoma* ('alcove'). Therefore, the image under discussion illustrates three modalities of relating to otherworlds through a 'set-up:' building an 'accurate' replica of its 'real' appearance, symbolizing it through the *suhamadai* ('beach stand') or *shimadai* ('island stand'), and/or including representations of that space among the illustrations to an auspicious text. This suggests that the audience of this illustrated book had a conflicting imaginary about Mount Penglai, both as an island beyond the sea and as a 'set-up.' Interestingly, in both visualizations the mental image Mount Penglai was mediated by the materiality of the 'set-ups.'

The excess of representation in figure 72 is similar to the alcove in Morohira's screen discussed in the previous chapter (fig. 67): it depicts both an extraordinary presence and its representation. I submit that pictures of prostitutes and 'set-ups' were structurally and functionally similar, and therefore can be analysed as two aspects of the same spatial imaginary.

### 5.1.3. Fabricating the Auspicious

The codification of the use of the 'set-up' is a symptom of two related phenomena: firstly, its use for auspicious social events was becoming a generic practice of urban class families. Secondly, the attempt at standardization can be interpreted as a symptom of the opposite tendency of dissolution of the code: the format of auspicious reproductions of the otherworld was changing along with an expanded audience. This tendency can be attributed to the rapid development of the print format.

A new version of a, by now, familiar story illustrates this phenomenon: in 1664, 'Tales of Penglai' was printed by the Miyako publisher Dodo Ichibei with the title *Hōrai san yurai* (蓬莱山由来 'The Origin of Mount Penglai'). The text of the earlier manuscript versions, enumerating various myths more or less related to Mount Penglai, was supplemented with an index and a preface:

All people from high to low turn young together with the new year at  
the beginning of the spring of the mighty gods. How does this  
happen? To the south of here is a famed mountain called Mount

Penglai. It stretches all the way from the Heavenly King Brahma<sup>388</sup> above to the Realm of the Dragon Palace below. It is a famous place more than thirty thousand leagues away.

The rulers of this mountain are six immortal heavenly maidens.

They're great sages with extraordinary powers who bestow long life and innumerable treasures to the people of the land. They bring the rarities of the three seas, the protection of the land and the elixir of immortality.

Because of this, for New Year's celebrations, the people replicate [jp. *katadorite*] Mount Penglai and adorn it with conch shells and fish.

They then pray for everlasting life and chant with all their hearts, such that even the gods can not help knowing about it. If the people do this respectfully, the six immortal heavenly maidens will descend. Thanks to their mercy, the people gazing at the conch shells and fish will be like to the clear skies of the coming spring. Even when they will turn eighty or a hundred years old, they will maintain the spirit of their teens.

They say that if you drink the elixir of immortality, your life will be never-ending. As the old poem goes: 'By counting the grains of fair sand [on the seashore], I will find the sum of the great number of years you are destined to enjoy.'<sup>389</sup> Thinking of this is in itself something to celebrate.<sup>390</sup>

This newly added text expands on the auspicious function and context of the main text. As discussed in the second chapter, placing auspicious texts at the beginning and end of narratives was a common feature of 'companion tales.' Voicing out the text was believed to bring about the fulfilment of wishes, in what amounts to a case of sympathetic magic.<sup>391</sup> However, in light of the relationship between manuscripts and prints discussed

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<sup>388</sup> 梵天王 jp. *Bonten'ō*. One of the twelve deities of Hindu origin which protect Buddhism from the twelve directions.

<sup>389</sup> Poem 344 from the Felicitations section of the tenth century imperial poetic anthology *Kokin Wakashū* ('Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times'), translated in McCullough 1985 p. 83.

<sup>390</sup> Yokoyama 1962b p. 81.

<sup>391</sup> For the concept of sympathetic magic see Frazer 1998.

in the previous chapter, it is significant to ask: why did the producers of the printed version consider it necessary to add this preface to the text? The preface spells out and internalizes the auspicious wedding context in which it is reasonable to assume that 'Tales of Penglai' was already being employed. The auspicious context was packaged together with the auspicious text into the format of the printed book. This implies that the function and context of the auspicious text was no longer intrinsic to the expanded audience enabled by the printing of the text. The framing function of the preface is equivalent to that of the accolade frame in Moronobu's 'Guide to Love in Yoshiwara.' Both of these frames mediate between everyday reality and an alternative space simultaneously uncovered and set apart.

A seventeenth century collection of *shikishi* ('paper cards') depicting episodes from the tenth century court narrative 'Tales of Ise' provides further illustration of the process described above.<sup>392</sup> Unlike most visualizations of the tale, this version is prefaced by an auspicious image (fig. 73).<sup>393</sup> Cranes nest in a pine tree flanked by the pine and bamboo, as well as *minogami* ('long-tailed turtles') and an elderly couple identifiable as the spirits of Takasago and Sumiyoshi pines. All these elements were customarily featured in a Mount Penglai 'beach stand,' suggested by the undulating lines of the sandy shore. I venture an explanation for the highly unusual inclusion of this auspicious image at the beginning of an otherwise unrelated story. The 'Tales of Ise' was a literary classic which every educated person of the period was supposed to learn. It was therefore included in the list of suitable readings for new brides in the aforementioned 'Collection of Rules of Etiquette for Women.'<sup>394</sup> However, in the seventeenth century the 'Tales of Ise' had acquired erotic connotations which made its use more problematic than the Tales of Genji, for example.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> For a recent comprehensive study of Edo period visualizations of 'Tales of Ise' see Mostow 2014.

<sup>393</sup> For a discussion of the *shikishi* format in the seventeenth century see Tawaraya 2013.

<sup>394</sup> Trede 2004 p. 199. 'Tales of Ise' also illustrated the 'books' category in the 1687 *Joyō kinmō zui* (女用訓蒙図彙 'Illustrated Encyclopaedia for Women'). On the other hand, Kornicki cites Yamaga Sokō's critique of this phenomenon, as well as the contents of the *joshō/nyosho* (女書 'women's books') category in booksellers' catalogues in support of the conclusion that 'in the second half of the seventeenth century...the classic works of Japanese fiction written by women, Genji monogatari and Ise monogatari in particular, were deemed unsuitable reading matter for young women by many male scholars, most of whom belonged to what we now call the Confucian tradition' (Kornicki 2005 p. 161).

<sup>395</sup> Screech 2009 pp. 260-63. For a discussion of the larger phenomenon of vernacularization of the Tales of Ise, see Bowring 1992 pp. 477-80. For visualizations of Tales of Ise, see the discussion in Katagiri 1994.



As discussed in the third chapter, *ise-e* (伊勢絵 'Ise pictures') were included in the list of objects that Yonosuke loads onto his ship headed for the Island of Women. This indicates that it was specifically visual illustrations of the Ise narratives which carried erotic connotations. With this in mind, the inclusion of auspicious motifs at the beginning of the 'paper card' collection (fig. 73) can be seen as an attempt to tame the connotations of the Tales of Ise, to fixate its slippery signifiers and make it suitable to the context of a wedding and the tame idea of an educated woman. In other words, the insertion of the representation of a Mount Penglai 'set-up' could have been intended to accommodate the entire content of the Tales of Ise to display in an auspicious context, in what amounts to an attempt at recruiting the Tales of Ise into the canon of auspicious themes. The fact that examples of this pairing are rare implies that this attempt at re-categorizing the Tales of Ise was unsuccessful. At the same time, such an exceptional application of an auspicious image reveals the mechanism intrinsic to depictions of themes more prone to an auspicious context. The conclusion emerging from this example is that the inclusion of auspicious images in a book had the effect of transforming the entire book into an auspicious object.

#### 5.1.4. An Unlikely Couple

Another example of a Mount Penglai 'set-up' being used on wedding occasions is included in Saikaku's 'Life of an Amorous Man':

Yonosuke and Yoshino were rushing to complete preparations for a wedding in front of all their relatives. Casks of sake and cypresswood boxes of cakes and delicacies sent as gifts piled up like mountains. As decoration, they placed a stand in the centre of the room with a model of the Mountain of Eternal Youth [jp. *Hōrai*] that rises in the Eastern Sea. At the end, everyone chanted together from a no play: 'Delighting in the rustling of the wind in twin pines growing old together.' Finally Yoshino sang, 'Until you are a hundred and I am ninety-nine.'<sup>396</sup>

This scene is especially important in light of the wife-prostitute, public-private dichotomy which has already been discussed in the third chapter. In this case, Yoshino is

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<sup>396</sup> Drake's translation in Shirane 2002 pp. 32-33, original text in Ihara 1971 p. 206.

transgressing from one social role to another. Yonosuke wants to turn his relationship with Yoshino from a private relationship between a customer and a prostitute, to a public one recognised by the family and wider society.<sup>397</sup> Although the background is unusual, the protocol is almost identical to that identified in 'Collection of Rules of Etiquette for Women' and 'The Story of Iwaya.' Yoshino's conversion is effected by a marriage protocol which includes a legitimising reference to an otherworld. The very fact that a conversion was possible implies the similarity between the two models of feminine behaviour. In fact, it is precisely Yoshino's proficiency as a prostitute that motivates Yonosuke to marry her.<sup>398</sup> This indicates a shared characteristic between an exquisite prostitute and a bride: their capacity of facilitating a connection to another reality.

#### 5.1.5. Festive Solitude

In light of the above analysis of the mechanisms of 'set-up' display, the previously discussed opening episode of 'Great Mirror of Beauties' can be reassessed (fig. 31). Notice that Yonosuke's son's New Year's Dream, along with his vision of the bird of paradise sent from the Island of Women, is accompanied by the presence of a 'set-up.' Identifiable is the ceremonial tray with seasonal Ise shrimps, a common New Year's 'set-up.' The image confirms the function of the 'set-up' discussed above: the enabling connection and interaction with an otherworld. One more aspect of the image is important in this setting: the protagonist is alone. The 'set-up' is customarily designed for a collective festivity which involves a shared connection with an otherworld. However, in this scene the 'set-up' is recycled as a prop for the character's personal experience. A similar process is at work in a hand-coloured print from Moronobu's 'Yoshiwara's Appearance.' It shows an updated version of the iconography of the dancing prostitute (fig. 74).<sup>399</sup> Inside a top brothel, three male guests are entertained through a series of activities. The central activity is that of the dancing performance of the prostitute. The character *doku* (獨 'alone') is prominently inscribed on a two-panel folding screen. It is

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<sup>397</sup> For a discussion of a later juxtaposition of an 'island stand' and a couple from the prostitution quarters from the point of view of the technique of *mitate*, see Haft 2013 pp. 150-52.

<sup>398</sup> This discussion is inspired by Watanabe 2013 p. 129. Yoshino goes beyond the worldly requirements of a courtesan, which echoes associations with sacredness. Watanabe 2013 pp. 132-39 proposes an alternative interpretation to this episode based on connections with Saikaku's biography.

<sup>399</sup> According to Asano 2000 p. 30, judging by the number of surviving prints, this was the most popular image in the series.

highlighted from the poem inscribed on the folding screen: 'To be alone with the sound of strings and sake, that is pleasure.'<sup>400</sup> Just like in the opening of 'Great Mirror of Beauties,' this is a festive occasion enjoyed privately. This solitude points to a social change mediated by visual production: the public collective performance epitomized by the 'set-up' was redefined as a private solitary pleasure in 'floating world tales' illustrations and *ukiyo-e* images. Figures 31 and 74 epitomise the transition from collective activities to an act of subjective pleasure, reflecting the choice of the individual. The two options were not mutually exclusive: one could switch from collective to private identities and experiences according to the change in context. Tropes of otherworldliness served as markers of these coexisting identities: 'set-up' for the public, prostitutes for the private. As I will argue further on in this chapter, the use of these references to the otherworld fostered alternative identities.

While illustrating a similar process, figures 31 and 74 depict two different varieties of the spatial imaginary: figure 31 depicts a scene insulated within the space of the prostitution quarters, while figure 74 infuses a generic urban setting with a transgressive reference to eroticism. Hedonistic activities previously assigned to the prostitution quarters begin here to seep into the normative social context.

## 5.2. Props and Prostitutes

I would like to draw attention to a detail from an artwork seen as crucial in the development of the *fūzoku-ga* genre: a pair of folding screens now referred to as the Sōōji screens. It shows a prostitute dancing at an outdoor gathering (figs. 75, 76). The naked bodies of the swimmers right below this scene contribute to an overall emphasis on the bodily presence of the characters. Notice the festive setting which features both a prostitute and a 'beach stand,' a type of *tsukurimono* ('set-up'). Most of the equivalent scenes of indoor or outdoor merrymaking within the *fūzoku-ga* genre feature only a dancing prostitute in the central position. I argue that in this image the function of the prostitute's figure is equivalent to that of the 'set-up.' This function is not restricted to their visual representation: both motifs refer to the agency of a three-dimensional object in a festive social setting. This equivalence of material agency is the object of this chapter's enquiry. Both prostitutes and the decorative 'set-up' were elements of social performance which brought an extraordinary space to the place of their display. As will

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<sup>400</sup> *Yu doku sō gen shu Ka kore ai*. Avitabile and the Japan Society and Gallery 1991 p. 16.

be shown, display brought displacement, which tweaked the identity of the participants.

### 5.2.1. Hishikawa Haunts

The performative nature of representations of prostitutes in late seventeenth century Japan is further expressed in two fragments from vernacular narratives of a slightly later date. Although later than the time frame of this study, their interpretation of the agency of images provide an access point into the spatial and ontological agency of late seventeenth century sources. Both examples mention 'Hishikawa' pictures, thus also illustrating the reception of the spatial imaginary in Moronobu's work. The first is from Aoki Rosui's 1706 *Otogi hyaku monogatari* (御伽百物語 'Strange Companion Tales'). Hishikawa's painted portraits are first lauded for their accomplished rendering of the details of the prostitution quarters. This is followed by the story of the scribe Tokukei. On his way back from lectures, he sees an old *tsuitate* (衝立 'partitioning screen'), buys it and brings it home:

Glancing at it in passing, he noticed a portrait of a beautiful woman on one side. [...] From then on he falls completely in love, and her image is always by his side as he goes about his daily chores.<sup>401</sup> He gradually bares his soul to this illusory figure and becomes sickly. Someone is concerned about this and hears the story, feels sorry and with a kind heart tells him: 'Do you know about this figure? This is a portrait done by Hishikawa with all his heart and energy in true likeness of the real woman. Therefore they say that her soul was transferred to the painting. So if you single-heartedly keep her name in mind at all times and call it out, she is certain to reply. When that happens, if you buy sake from one hundred brewers and offer it to this figure, that woman will certainly step out of the figure in the

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<sup>401</sup> Interestingly, the phrase 'her image is always by his side' (*omokage wo mi ni soe*) appears in an almost identical form at the beginning of the story *Botan Tōrō* (牡丹燈籠 'Peony Lantern') from Asai Ryōi's 1660 vernacular tale *Otogi bōko* (御伽婢子 'Hand Puppets'). In Ryōi's text, the phrase describes the protagonist's yearning for his dead wife: 'The apparition of my lovely wife remains ever before me; Why, then, am I heartbroken/ Though she still clings to me so?' (Mori's translation in Shirane 2002 p. 34). Both uses of the phrase allude to a poem from the 'Tale of Genji,' the first that Genji sent to the pre-nubile Murasaki: 'That vision of you never leaves me now, O mountain cherry, even though I left behind in your care all of my heart' (Tyler's translation in Murasaki Shikibu 2003 p. 95).

painting and become a real person.' This he kindly instructed him.<sup>402</sup>

Notice the similarity to the technique outlined in the introduction to the above-quoted preface to 'The Origin of Mount Penglai:' mental concentration and vocalization establishes a connection which brings the otherworld to the here and now.

The second example is from Ejima Kiseki's 1711 *Keisei kintanki* (傾城禁短気 'Courtesans Forbidden to Lose their Temper'). Haruji, the son of a cloth merchant, spends all of the family's money on visits to the prostitution quarters and retires broke to Kamakura:

Even though he barely had anything to eat, he employed the skilful brush of Hishikawa for a painted portrait of the courtesan Ukigumo, so he wouldn't forget how she was when they were cavorting in the quarters. He then mounted it, placed it in the alcove [jp. *toko*] and unceasingly enjoyed himself on his own. That man of old who lamented that 'it neither laughs nor says anything' was a fool.<sup>403</sup> If you think of it as a picture, you should rejoice. Recalling the courtesan just as she was when alive, saying 'Oh, she's just about to laugh,' he passed the time rejoicing on his own as if he'd gone completely mad.<sup>404</sup>

Kiseki takes his cues from Saikaku: the above fragment is inserted between two quotes from Saikaku's 'Great Mirror of Beauties.'<sup>405</sup> The fragment can thus be seen as an elaboration on elements already latent within Saikaku's work.

Paintings would have been the next best thing to reality: just like mechanical devices, they were mimetic representations of reality which stood in for the real thing. I argue that they also retained the animation effect, or the sense of presence of the original being.<sup>406</sup> The forms of representation discussed further on in this chapter amount to a

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<sup>402</sup> Kishi 2008 pp. 112-13.

<sup>403</sup> Reference to the grief of Emperor Wu of Han over a portrait of his concubine Lady Li (李夫人 jp. *Rifujin*) who had recently died.

<sup>404</sup> Kishi 2008 p. 113.

<sup>405</sup> On the relationship of the work of Kiseki to Saikaku's writings, see Hayashi 1992 pp. 323-337.

<sup>406</sup> These early eighteenth century examples depict instances of representations which Gadamer would describe as 'events of being:' 'The picture ... is an event of being and therefore cannot be properly understood as an object of aesthetic consciousness; rather, it is to be grasped in its

tendency to exacerbate this ontological potency of images in late seventeenth century urban culture. The following examples thus illustrate the next step in ontological simulation: three-dimensionality.

### 5.2.2. Dolls in Unexpected Places

The agency of three-dimensionality in representations of feminine figures was also featured in earlier texts from the late seventeenth century. For example, Saikaku's 'Amorous Chronicles of Prosperity and Decadence' of 1688 includes a description of a three-dimensional reproduction of a prostitute's presence:

As he slid open the door, in front of him stood a mechanical figure [jp. *sugata wo karakuri*] of the courtesan Yoshino, laughing on its own, the movements of the mouth and the way the arms and feet move, everything whetted the appetite. 'It was because of this woman that I became like this.'<sup>407</sup>

The animation effect of the prostitute is here illustrated in a fictional scenario. The term *sugata* ('figure') is reminiscent of *sugata-e* ('portrait'), a term used specifically for portraits of beautiful women, with erotic connotations.<sup>408</sup> Also, notice how the *sugata* functions in exactly the same way as the real person to which it refers, both through its lifelike appeal – 'whetted the appetite' – and through the fact that the male viewer is referring to the doll as if it were real. And in a sense, anthropomorphic mechanical devices were a reality of the time. In 1662, a *karakuri* ('mechanical contraption') theatre had opened its doors in Osaka, quickly becoming a local attraction. This led to a fad for mechanical devices.<sup>409</sup> One of the most popular was the tea-carrying doll, described by Saikaku himself in a poem included in the 1675 anthology *Dokugin hyakuin* (独吟百韻

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ontological structure by starting from such phenomena as that of presentation.' Gadamer 1989 p. 144. The two examples also parallel Freedberg's discussion of the trope of 'Love by Sight of Image' in Freedberg 1989 pp. 332-38, examples of which show 'how the wish, the desire, and the need to make alive actually enlivens the dead image' (p. 338).

<sup>407</sup> Ihara 1959a pp. 115-16.

<sup>408</sup> Moronobu, for example, 'eroticizes' court poetic tradition in his *Sugata-e hyakunin isshu*. Mostow 1996 p. 107 *passim*.

<sup>409</sup> Interestingly, one of the ways to write the 'kara' in *karakuri* was with the ideogram for 'China' 唐, suggesting the same kind of entertaining exoticism as that analyzed in Toby 1986. For a detailed discussion of the role of Western technology in the development of *karakuri* from the eighteenth to nineteenth century, see chapter three in Screech 2002.

'One Hundred Solitary Verses'): 'The tea-carrying doll's wheels all working.'<sup>410</sup> Saikaku's comments to this poem use exactly the same phrasing as in the description of the Yoshino doll: 'The movement of the eyes and the way the mouth and feet move, the motion of the extending of the arms as well as its bowing gesture are remarkably humanlike [jp. *ningen no gotoshi*].'<sup>411</sup>

Therefore, the mechanical reproduction of reality was not just science-fiction, but a real possibility by this time. The episode of the doll of Yoshino took the contemporary tendency of lifelike reproductions of prostitutes to the next level of implication, by discussing the implications of the availability of such accurate reproductions of reality. Paradoxically, a pastime enabled by Western technology was integrated into an urban aesthetics of femininity. As shown by the doll of Yoshino, this had an effect on the ontological dimension of the spatial imaginary of the period.

Another example of mechanical reproduction of reality comes from an episode in the last chapter of Saikaku's 'Life of an Amorous Man.' The protagonist Yonosuke reaches Nagasaki and disports himself in its prostitution quarter, Maruyama. A stage is set up in the inner garden of a house of assignation, and Yonosuke watches the prostitutes performing dances on it. He then yearns for the style of prostitutes from the capital, so he brings out twelve *hitsu* (long chests), takes out forty-four dressed dolls of prostitutes and arranges them in the garden. They stand for seventeen prostitutes from the capital, eight from Edo and nineteen from Osaka. Yonosuke places them on a stage with their names in front, creating a sight which everyone in Nagasaki comes to gape at.<sup>412</sup>

This episode exhibits the tendency to reproduce reality in a three-dimensional form, getting as close as possible to the actual presence of the living person. The illustration to this episode shows a triad of beautiful women seated on an elevated platform, under eager male gazes (fig. 77). Previous research has favoured the interpretation of this image as showing the display of the real Maruyama prostitutes. However, it could equally be a representation of the dolls of prostitutes from all over the country.<sup>413</sup> Perhaps this indeterminacy was the point: in Saikaku's narrative setting, reality and its reproduction were purposefully confounded.

From the perspective of this chapter's analysis of spatial agency, notice that the

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<sup>410</sup> 茶を運ぶ人形の車はたらきて. Another translation in Yamaguchi 2002 p. 73.

<sup>411</sup> Adapted from Yamaguchi 2002 p. 73. Original text in Tatsukawa 1969 p. 4.

<sup>412</sup> Ihara 1971 pp. 298-9.

<sup>413</sup> For the former interpretation see Maeda 1981. For the latter, see Shinoda 2010 pp. 211-12.

prostitutes, as well as the dolls, operate in the liminal space of the garden. Their location parallels the placement of the Mount Penglai 'set-up' in the garden on the occasion of an apprentice geisha's promotion in the episode from 'Great Mirror of Beauties' discussed in the previous chapter: 'In the garden there was an island stand [*shimadai*] gilded in gold and silver.' The garden setting thus effects a generic spatial dislocation. The prostitute dolls bring precision to this spatial dislocation: they embody the style of specific prostitution quarters from urban centres around Japan. They thus establish a connection with specific locations within a network of heterotopic sites. The dolls achieve this through no other means other than their own name-tagged identity. As in previously discussed examples, spatial dislocation is collapsed onto identity dislocation.

The examples above show the increasingly performative aspect of the space of the prostitution quarters. The cultural genealogy of the prostitute in Japan helps explain this characteristic, through a link to maiden mediums performing sacred dances in front of the deity, within what would come to be known as Shinto practices. This precedent provided a paradigm of interaction with the deity, and implicitly with the other world in which it resides. From this point of view, the prostitution and theatre districts replicated this paradigm of interaction within a context of entertainment. However, I argue that the examples above show that, within the immediate socio-cultural context of the late seventeenth century, spaces of entertainment in turn provided the model of an extraordinary space where alternative identities could be deployed.

### 5.2.3. Beauties and Identity Change

Another instance of participatory interaction with the alternative identities enabled by references to otherworlds is found in the description of a parlour game in Saikaku's 1684 'Great Mirror of Beauties.' A group of *taiko mochi* ('male jesters') are challenged to provoke laughter to three prostitutes.<sup>414</sup> If they succeed, the women will have to act as tray carriers all the way to the main gate. If the entertainers fail to make the prostitutes laugh, they have to walk naked through the entire quarters during in daytime. The first jester dons a woman's dress and a *tengu* ('goblin') mask (fig 78). The incongruity between the feminine silhouette and the uncouth goblin is meant to be humorous, but is also similar to one of the ghosts of lovers past which haunts Yonosuke in the middle of the

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<sup>414</sup> The episode is described along with its illustration in Hibbett 1959 pp. 59-61. The parodic reference is to The Three Laughters of the Tiger Ravine – see Gerhart 1999 p. 97.



‘Life of an Amorous Man’ (fig. 39).<sup>415</sup> Just like in Moronobu's illustration to that episode, the overlapping of categories is kept within bounds, and turns from threatening to entertaining. Meanwhile, the prostitutes succeed in keeping a straight face by recalling past memories of business gone wrong. They are ultimately tricked into smiling by a jester giving them fake money pouches. As in the previous example, role-play and entertainment revolves around money.

Another instance of identity shift is featured in the same preface of ‘Three Pairs in the Three Yoshiwara Tea Rooms’ of 1681 discussed in the third chapter: ‘Even demons not visible to the eye or the demon king of the Kiman Land should melt to these [prostitute descriptions] like the snow above the fire.’<sup>416</sup> ‘Kiman Land’ refers to a ‘companion tale’ in which the protagonist Endo Zaemon reaches Kiman Land and has an affair with the daughter of the Eight-faced King of the land. To appease the infuriated king, Zaemon competes with him in various skills including music and poetry, defeating the king and becoming himself king of Kiman Land.<sup>417</sup> The inclusion of a reference to this text in the preface could simply be an elaborate praise of the main text. However, this playful allusion involves a transformation of identity by imagining the reader as the demon king of Kiman Land. Notice again the shift from the collective to the individual experience of spatial and identitary dislocation with reference to an otherworld

### 5.3. Embodying the Prop

#### 5.3.1. Wrap-around Space

In the 1681 edition of the dress pattern book *Shinsen on hiinagata* (新撰御ひいなかた ‘New Selection of Respected Patterns’) includes an intriguing design of a fashionable *kosode* (小袖 ‘short-sleeved garment’) (fig. 79). It consists of three main elements: in the upper register is a jar-like structure on arched legs, blended with the character for *shima* (嶋 ‘island’).<sup>418</sup> In the lower register there are billowing waves. The elements in the upper register can be read as a rebus of the word *takarashima* (‘island of treasure’). Imagine the woman wearing such a *kosode* and consider the visual and ontological

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<sup>415</sup> As discussed in chapter three.

<sup>416</sup> 目に見えぬ鬼神、きまん国の鬼王も、かうろ一てんの雪のことく、しみくと成へし Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 1 p. 272.

<sup>417</sup> Tokuda 2002 pp. 217-19.

<sup>418</sup> For an informative introduction to pattern books, see Nagasaki 1992.

impact of such a display. I argue that the connotations on the *kosode* design would be transferred onto the woman's body. In other words, the *kosode*-donning woman would herself become an 'island of treasure.' More precisely, she would become the 'set-up' of the 'island of treasure' beyond the sea. The same conflation of topological and ontological periphery was manifest in the foreign toponyms forming the name of the prostitutes Ikoku and Morokoshi, as discussed in the second chapter. However, the *kosode* design differs in two ways: firstly, the conflation is three-dimensional, going beyond the visual or textual to include the sense of touch and presence. Secondly, the conflation of fantasy and reality is no longer confined to the entertainment world: it is not meant for a prostitute or for elite entertainment, but for a fashionable urbanite.<sup>419</sup> These two differences are relevant to this chapter's exploration of the performative role of visual representations across various social contexts of the period.

### 5.3.2. Performances of Fantastic Identities

Indeed, the examples which follow show that identity experimentation in connection to otherworlds was not confined to spaces of entertainment. Social actors started to assume an active role in the creation of settings for alternative identities. Yonosuke's 'set-up' of prostitutes from all over Japan in Nagasaki exemplifies this tendency to take the initiative in this play of representations.

In an episode from one of Ihara Saikaku's last works, the 1693 'floating world tale' *Ukiyo eiga ichidai otoko* (浮世栄華一代男 'The Man Who Flourished in the Floating World'), the main character is entertained all night in a rich merchant's inn in Sakai:

The night was coming to an end. The merchant thought this is getting boring, so he changed the mood and declared 'We're going to entertain ourselves by playing the Dragon Palace.' So he made up his wife into Otohime<sup>420</sup> by making her wear a crown and a lacquered belt with jewels, and putting her into the Treasure Boat on the stream in his garden, so that she looked like the welcoming daughter of the Dragon King. The

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<sup>419</sup> Were such garments actually produced and worn? Very few examples survive from the seventeenth century, but there are many examples of *kosode* from the nineteenth century which transpose the imagery of Mount Penglai, including the turtle and crane, to the design of the garment. Two examples are illustrated with a description in Kennedy and Hosoda 2000 cats. 1 and 2.

<sup>420</sup> The Dragon King's daughter.

entertainment turned into an atmosphere of actually looking at the real thing, and it was hard to believe this is the floating world. The merchant forgot all about the inn's errands, did not sleep a wink and kept himself in a dream-like mood. While gradually getting tipsy, he chose the exceptionally beautiful women and children of the house and made them into living mermaids, or fish that live for a thousand years. He put carp fish, living shells, or even octopuses on the servants' heads, so it became a fantastic sight. Then the master of the house said, 'as a sign of great prosperity, how about doing the pine burning of Dragon Palace.' So they took out a pine box covered in gold foil, put inside a ladle threaded with gold and silver bowls, and they kept on drinking for an entire day, with Dragon women at their side taking good care of them. This pleasure is like that of Paradise, not known in this world.

The entertainment described here with images such as fish and shells on heads is a textual rendition of the generic iconography associated with the Dragon Palace at the time. For example, in Saikaku's 1687 *Futokoro suzuri* (懷硯 'Pocket Inkstone'<sup>421</sup>), a group of young boys sent from the Dragon Palace appear out of the waves of Wakayama Bay in Kishu province during a night prayer session (fig. 80).<sup>422</sup> They are carrying a Dragon Lantern, and 'on their heads they have crowns in the shape of abalone and fish.'<sup>423</sup> In the above quote, such generic visualizations of ideal spaces were integrated into a performance of alterity for the purpose of entertainment.<sup>424</sup> The fact that the merchant's wife was made up as Otohime implies the performance of a corresponding alternative identity for the merchant host: that of Urashima, the fisherman that reaches the Dragon Palace or Mount Penglai and marries the Dragon King's daughter.

It is relevant that a rich merchant was the host. The party of the merchant from Sakai closely resembles the model of elite parties originating in the middle ages, but revived in 1680, when various *daimyo* (feudal rulers) organized displays of their art collections for the entertainment of the dying shogun Ietsuna in the Ninomaru compound within the

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<sup>421</sup> Translation of title from Ihara 1976 p. 390.

<sup>422</sup> A very similar description of Dragon Palace inhabitants appears in Asai 1987 vol. 1 p. 11.

<sup>423</sup> Ihara 2003 pp. 53-4.

<sup>424</sup> This performance can be interpreted in terms of Bakhtin's 'carnavalesque,' as has already been done for other Saikaku texts in Johnson 2001.

shogun's palace in Edo.<sup>425</sup> For example, the party organized by the high-ranking *daimyo* Ōkubo Tadatomo included boat rides and performances of theatrical skits.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, by hosting a festivity in his own home, the merchant was appropriating, consciously or not, an elite practice for the legitimization of his own wealth and social status. The fact that the merchant could afford this entertainment was an expression of his commercial success. Applying myth to his success turned his wealth into treasures from the Dragon Palace. Furthermore, from the point of view of the gender roles within the spatial imaginary, notice that the whole charade started with the transformation of a woman into her mythical counterpart. The mechanism is similar to the metamorphosis of the prostitute Teika in 'Three Pairs in the Three Yoshiwara Tea Rooms': 'When she gets excited, she forgets to go back, and Brahma (jp. *Bonten*) comes out.'<sup>427</sup> In both cases, the identity transformation of the feminine figure brought about the spatial transformation of the setting.

### 5.3.3. Saikaku's Familial Identity

The possibility of a change in identity with reference to an otherworld was taken further than just narrative settings. Ihara Saikaku, the encyclopaedic author of poetry and 'floating world tales,' exemplifies the contemporary deployment of alternative identities into one's own life. In the second chapter I already discussed Saikaku's appropriation of the moniker 'Dutch' as an element of his maverick poetic identity. The remainder of this chapter will follow Saikaku's deployment of other artistic personas in familial and political spheres of activity.

In his private correspondence, Saikaku had adopted the identity of Urashima, the fisherman who sails out to Mount Penglai.<sup>428</sup> This may have been due to the fact that Saikaku's residence, Osaka, overlapped with Naniwa Bay, the home of the legendary fisherman. Associated with this, and more prominent, was another mythical counterpart: the crane into which Urashima morphs in updated versions of the story

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<sup>425</sup> Described in Tamamushi 2005 pp. 104-111.

<sup>426</sup> Tamamushi 2005 p. 105.

<sup>427</sup> Edo Yoshiwara sōkan kankōkai 2010 vol. 3 p. 273. I discuss this episode in chapter three.

<sup>428</sup> The following discussion is indebted to Drake 1992b p. 564. Drake refers to a letter from 1682 in which Saikaku calls himself Urashima Tarō (see Morikawa 1990). Drake also mentions 'an ink painting from the same period' where Saikaku 'depicts a double version of himself (the hokku imagines him as Urashima) with a shaven-headed worldly monk/poet sitting in a fishing boat facing a white-haired Urashima (reproduced in Saikaku [Tenri toshokan, 1965], p. 235, no. 164)' Drake 1992b p. 564. I intend to pursue the study of these materials in the future.

starting with the seventeenth century. Since the beginning of his artistic career, Hirayama Togo had continuously used the trope of the crane to construct his poetic identity, first as *Kakuei* (鶴永 'The Eternal Crane'<sup>429</sup>) and then as *Saikaku* (西鶴 'The Crane of the West'). These names triggered a wide range of connotations.<sup>430</sup> Saikaku also expressed this self-mythography visually, in the illustration to his own poem at the end of *Hyakunin ikku Naniwa shikishi* (百人一句難波色紙 'A Hundred Osaka Poets, One Poem Each on Paper Cards'), where he depicts himself wearing a costume with the emblem of the circling crane (fig. 81).<sup>431</sup> The depiction amounts to a visual replica of the iconography of Mount Penglai, now transferred onto Saikaku's own body. Therefore, through this appropriation of the crane identity, Saikaku fashioned himself as an element of a 'set-up' of Mount Penglai.

This auspicious alter ego was integrated into Saikaku's familial history: complementary to Saikaku's poetic persona as the Western Crane, his wife's penname was *Kame* ('Turtle'). This amounts to an auspicious reproduction of the mythical crane-turtle couple formed by Urashima and the Dragon Princess. This embodiment of conjugal mythography is particularly appropriate in light of the use of the turtle-crane imagery for wedding occasions previously analysed in this chapter. Sadly, most of the information available about this auspicious alternative identity was disclosed upon the unexpected death of Saikaku's wife in 1675. In an unprecedented act of devotion, the bereaved husband embarked on a poetic marathon in homage to his wife, and published it shortly after as *Haikai dokugin ichinichi senku* (俳諧独吟一日千句 'A Thousand Haikai Alone in a Single Day'). Some of the verses link Saikaku's wife's death to the story of Urashima. The most representative is: 'Urashima's child is a young woman.'<sup>432</sup> Various interpretations are possible, resting on the linguistic ambiguity of the first three words, which could be read as meaning either 'the young Urashima' or 'Urashima's child(ren)'. In the latter interpretation, the verse would refer to the three young daughters left

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<sup>429</sup> The translation is from Drake 1992a p. 7, although a more accurate rendition would arguably be 'The Everlastingness of a Crane'.

<sup>430</sup> Hibbett 1959 p. 49 is worth quoting at length: '... alluding simultaneously to the bird symbolic of longevity, to his teacher's surname ("Western Mountain"), to the Western Paradise of Pure Land Buddhism, and to his own home in the western part of the main island of Japan. Not least significant, "Saikaku" was also an exact pun on a word meaning "ingenuity", a virtue required of merchants as well as comic poets.'

<sup>431</sup> Reproduced in Ihara 1972 p. 335.

<sup>432</sup> *Urashima ga ko wa musume naruran*. Drake 1992b pp. 513-14.

without a mother, one of whom was blind.<sup>433</sup> In the former case, the verse makes Saikaku's wife into a cross-gendered Urashima. This makes sense in light of the wife's figuration in the Preface as 'a crane leaving her crying children.'<sup>434</sup> This further implies the likening of the flu that took his wife's life with the lethal wind that emerged out of the box received from the Dragon Princess upon its opening by Urashima.<sup>435</sup> Mythical alter egos are inverted: it is not Saikaku, but his wife who is now referred to as a crane and as Urashima.

#### 5.3.4. Saikaku's Poetical and Political Identity

These performances were part of the process of constructing the eccentric identities of the urban middle class, by celebrating their liminal status. This was achieved through the embodiment of tropes of otherworldliness. Saikaku applied these narrative reworkings of self-identity outside his familial circle as well. A characteristic example is a story from the semi-autobiographical *Saikaku nagori no tomo* (西鶴名残乃友 'A Companion to Pass on Saikaku's Stories').<sup>436</sup> This example is relevant to this chapter's argument as it illustrates the function of mythical alternatives to normative social identities within a complex network of sociopolitical relationships. On a spring morning, Saikaku and the poet Shiimoto Saimaru arrive in Akashi upon the invitation of a fellow poet. They admire the cherry blossoms and then retire to the host's home, where they start talking about cherry blossoms. Three episodes follow one after the other.

First, Saikaku mentions the ephemeral beauty of the famous cherry blossoms in Nara. This reminds him of how he had received a package from other fellow poets living in Nara, which was a famous place for sake brewing. As Saikaku was a non-drinker, he wasn't very excited. But then he had some sake-loving friends over and took the package out. When opening it, to their surprise, instead of sake they found rice cakes.

The audience in Akashi has a good laugh over Saikaku's story. Then the host continues with the second story: A group travelling from the capital back to the eastern provinces got on a boat at Fushimi heading to Osaka. A servant arrived with a cedar box (jp. *sugijō*)

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<sup>433</sup> The term *kame* might in this case be a pun meaning 'good eyes.' Drake 1992a p. 7.

<sup>434</sup> Drake 1992b p. 503.

<sup>435</sup> Drake 1992b p. 513.

<sup>436</sup> The work was a draft manuscript published by Saikaku's pupils in 1696, four years after the master's death. The following discussion is based on Chapter 3 in Hase 2007. There is no research on 'A Companion to Pass on Saikaku's Stories' in English, despite Aston's appraisal of it as the only 'decent work' that Saikaku wrote (Aston 1899 p. 269).

sent by a close acquaintance in the capital. A curious message was written on the lid: 'open this cedar box just before you reach Hirakata station.' They started drinking and frolicking, and when Hirakata was in sight, they brought out the cedar box to have some sweets. When they opened it, though, in one partition were arranged pickles and salt, and in the other partition rice and cut-up vegetables. 'Oh, how thoughtful they have been!' They all said, and proceeded to cook a good meal and sober up. The host from Akashi said: if those that had sent the box would not have been drinkers, they wouldn't have thought of sending ingredients for the meal. Drinkers are therefore more ingenious, and therefore such interesting stories can come about.

The host then took out a treasured and famous sake called 'Drink of Eternal Youth,' held in a large bottle called 'The Heavenly Rock Cave,' and boasted: 'Those who drink this will have no signs of hangover: a clear face and wide-open eyes on the next day.' The story ends with Saikaku offering flowers to the host and praising the 'Drink of Eternal Youth.'

The episodes are structured along a generic contemporary debate on the merits of drinkers versus non-drinkers. Besides this, each episode contains the motif of opening a box and rejoicing upon finding the unexpected inside. This recalls the story of Urashima, who opens the box received from the Dragon Princess despite her prohibition, upon which he grows old and dies. To this example of 'opening and suffering,' the sixteenth century noh theatre adaptation *Urashima* had added the story of the Heavenly Rock Cave as an example of 'opening and rejoicing.' The references to the box with instructions, the 'Drink of Eternal Youth,' the Heavenly Rock Cave, all can be read as allusions to the text of this noh theatre version of Urashima's story. Saikaku's alter ego as Urashima is here rewoven into a narrative setting which has him repeating the mythical hero's actions in a festive social setting.

But it turns out that there were more immediate possible reasons for Saikaku's adaptation of Urashima's story. This is linked to the mysterious identity of the host from Akashi, the only character in the text without a name. Details in the text suggest that the host is the *daimyo* of the Akashi domain, Matsudaira Nobuyuki. After a damaging earthquake in 1662,<sup>437</sup> Nobuyuki initiated a series of restorations of the local shrine

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<sup>437</sup> The same earthquake is mentioned by the Dutch doctor Isaac Titsingh as provoking damages to the Great Buddha Statue which had been built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the capital (Titsingh 1834 p. 404).

dedicated to the classical poet Hitomaru. This shrine was also associated with eye ailments through the legend of the ‘flowering stick’: a blind man had regained his sight after praying here, and then left his walking stick behind, only for the stick to blossom with cherry flowers. Possibly with reference to this legend, in 1676 Nobuyuki had an avenue of cherry trees planted on the precincts of the shrine.

The motivation for Nobuyuki’s patronage of the shrine most probably goes back to his grandfather Nobuyoshi, who had killed a *yamabushi* (‘mountain ascetic’) within the precincts of the prefectural castle. Nobuyoshi then became ill, his ability to see diminished greatly, and eventually died. The killing of a holy man brought a curse on the family. Thus, the motivation behind Nobuyuki’s planting of cherry trees in the shrine of Hitomaru might have been to alleviate the family curse.

Nobuyuki also found other ways to sponsor the shrine: he called upon the poet Nishiyama Sōin to organize linked-verse gatherings at the shrine on two occasions, in 1672 and 1674. Sōin was Saikaku’s poetic master, which makes it highly possible that Saikaku might have thus known about Nobuyuki’s story. Furthermore, as discussed above, Saikaku had a blind daughter, and in his later years he also had problems with his eyes, so he would have been highly interested in the legend of the ‘flowering stick’ at Hitomaru shrine.<sup>438</sup> Furthermore, in the poetic anthologies of the Danrin circle of which Saikaku was a key member, references to the ‘Heavenly Rock Cave’ were associated with the trope of shining light onto darkness.

These historical elements add up to an entirely different reading of the story from ‘A Companion to Pass on Saikaku’s Stories.’ The ‘host of Akashi’ is the Akashi *daimyo* Matsudaira Nobuyuki. The cherry blossoms of Akashi are the trees planted in the Hitomaru shrine by Nobuyuki. The motif of ‘opening and rejoicing,’ as well as the ‘Heavenly Rock Cave,’ refer to the legend of the ‘flowering stick.’

But there is more to this story, including a link to Mount Penglai. Nobuyuki erected a memorial stone tablet on the shrine precincts. It functioned as a *katashiro* (‘effigy,’ or ‘body substitute’). Interestingly, this stone tablet stood on a rock-sculpted image of a turtle. This was not an isolated case: turtle-mounted memorial tablets were used throughout the Edo period for funerary monuments of local *daimyo*. This phenomenon is

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<sup>438</sup> In a letter from 1692, Saikaku mentions that he can not write anymore because his eyes are hurting. See Ihara 2001.



linked to a revival of Shinto practices among some regional *daimyo* families.<sup>439</sup> The significance of these turtle-shaped pedestals was that they invited associations with the turtle that carries Mount Penglai. By doing so, they associated the *daimyo* and their rule with immortality. This applies equally to Nobuyuki's memorial to Hitomaru. Although not Nobuyuki's own funerary monument, it was closely associated with the agency of the *daimyo*: the inscription clearly states Nobuyuki as the sponsor, and the compiler of the text is Hayashi Shunsai or Gahō, at the time the chief advisor of the Tokugawa *shogun* on matters of Neo-Confucian doctrine.<sup>440</sup> Moreover, in one of his poems, Nishiyama Soin refers to Nobuyuki as the 'inner pine,' meaning the lord who lives inside the castle of Akashi, in an allusion to the *matsu* ('pine') contained in Nobuyuki's lordly name of Matsudaira.<sup>441</sup> Therefore, the turtle-mounted tablet, as an embodiment of Nobuyuki's will, was one of the means by which Nobuyuki was constructing an auspicious identity as the pine atop Mount Penglai. The main prop in this process of identity construction was Nobuyuki's residence, the castle of Akashi, which had been known as the Crane's castle or the Crane's peak. What emerges is a constellation of connotations which amount to the fashioning of Nobuyuki's castle as a giant 'set-up' of Mount Penglai, accommodating Nobuyuki's persona as an everlasting pine. Saikaku was of course aware of the iconography of Mount Penglai on the back of a turtle. For example he used this iconography to illustrate a conventional poem about the New Year in the 1682 anthology *Kōmeishū* (高名集 'Collection of Lofty Names') (fig. 82).<sup>442</sup> Concomitantly, as discussed above, Saikaku had developed his own mythological biography as the 'Western Crane.' Saikaku thus fashioned himself as the crane circling around Mount Penglai, in effect becoming an accessory to the 'set-up' of Mount Penglai.

In the first chapter I quoted a fragment from Iwasa Matabei's 1637 travelogue, where the toponym *Kameyama* ('turtle mountain') triggers an ode to the peaceful reign of the

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<sup>439</sup> For example, Hoshina Masayuki, one of the most influential *daimyo* of the day, 'the half-brother of Tokugawa Iemitsu and the lord of Aizu domain' (Kenney 2000 p. 258) was initiated in secret Shinto traditions by the leading priest Yoshikawa Koretaru (Scheid 2002 pp. 315-16). For Masayuki's funeral in 1672, a *katashiro* (effigy) or a body substitute was used, which would have been in the form of a memorial tablet (Kenney 2000 p. 258). Masayuki was then deified 'under the name of Hanitsu Daimyōjin 土津大明神 in a newly erected shrine' (Scheid 2002 p. 315) and had a stone memorial erected with a turtle base.

<sup>440</sup> Shunsai seems to have been a popular choice for such tasks: he also inscribed, for example, the *daimyo* Hoshina Masayuki's turtle-mounted memorial tablet.

<sup>441</sup> Hase 2007 p. 206. For the use of pine trees as political iconography in the Edo period, see Gerhart 1999 Chapter 1.

<sup>442</sup> Hase 2007 p. 203, reproduced in Ihara 1972 p. 438.

‘Great Shōgun.’ Further on in the text, Matabei makes a direct association with Mount Penglai:

Might not this be Kameyama where is the Elixir of Immortality of Mt. Penglai?  
Because this is a place with a most auspicious name:  
I pray for the long life of the Shogun.  
So the very name of Kameyama of Penglai is auspicious. <sup>443</sup>

The association between political rulers and auspicious symbols such as the turtle and Mount Penglai thus had antecedents.<sup>444</sup> In other words, auspicious symbols themselves had an inherently political dimension, since they were used for legitimization of various social interactions. Granted, these alternative identities can be seen as being no more than literary experiments. But it was precisely the breadth of Saikaku's cultural production which allowed him to apply narrative settings to his own life. Saikaku's example illustrates precisely the stage where artistic settings start to spill out of their bounds, from fantasy into reality. In other words, with Saikaku's persona, artistic representation feeds back into social realities. Otherworlds and their heterotopic versions, the prostitution quarters, become the model for alternative social spaces. The next step would have been the initiation of a socio-political change. This did not happen, but popular discourse continued to be adroitly critical of the status quo, and in some cases closely connected to reactionary factions.<sup>445</sup> Throughout the Edo period, the possibility of alternative social realities would remain latent within popular discourse.

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<sup>443</sup> Kita 1997 p. 334.

<sup>444</sup> Tokugawa Ieyasu's dream portrait quoted in the first chapter also includes a Mount Penglai 'set-up.' See note 40 and Pitelka 2009 p. 20.

<sup>445</sup> This is a recent and promising approach in the study of the artistic production of premodern Japanese culture, exemplified by the analysis of political metaphors in Nishikawa Sukenobu's illustrated books in Preston 2012.

## Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the status of representations of the spatial imaginary in late seventeenth century Japanese visual culture. It put side by side two forms of representation: paintings of prostitutes and decorative 'set-ups' of otherworlds such as Mount Penglai. They were compared according to protocols of emplacement and interaction, and their spatial and ontological functions. Although they theoretically belonged to different spheres – the family world and the entertainment world – I showed that there were structural similarities between them. I derived the protocols and functions of the 'set-ups' from the cultural production of the period. A better understanding of the 'set-up' mechanisms enables a better understanding of the parallel functions of other representations which employed tropes of otherworldliness, such as paintings of prostitutes.

The difficulty, and appeal, of both of these categories of representation is that they were dynamic, subject to constant redefinition and cross-pollination during the period under study. Paintings were drawing attention to their spatial agency in order to demarcate themselves from the new print format. The auspiciousness of otherworlds was repackaged for an urban audience in search of social legitimation. Hybrid iconographies and settings combined the worlds of paintings of prostitutes with that of auspicious 'set-ups.' They testify to the fact that various forms of spatial practices were blending. This conflation was accompanied by a tendency to bring representation as close as possible to reality, through mechanical devices or stories of paintings coming alive. Therefore, paintings of prostitutes were animated: they interacted with the space around them, unlike their predecessors. This implies a different relationship of the audience at the time with visual artefacts than has been previously assumed. This tendency of conflating fantasy with reality was applied to the audience members' own identity, blending fantasy into the protagonists' 'real' lives. In other words, the embodiment of fantasy was increasingly user-oriented. The leading example was that of Ihara Saikaku, who questioned the nature of representation in his work while concomitantly fashioning a series of alternative identities for himself using tropes of otherworldliness.

This chapter thus builds on the discussion of dialectical pairs of terms: reality and fantasy, private and public, individual and collective, *bijinga* and *tsukurimono*, *fūzokuga*

and *ukiyo-e*, *otogi zōshi* and *ukiyo zōshi*. The discussion starts from these dichotomies and then uncovers the tendency to straddle these dichotomies in the sources under study. In other words, this chapter shows how cultural agents in the seventeenth century engaged with the makeshift nature of the categories that represented reality. Overall, the conclusion that emerges from this chapter is that the proliferation of reproductions of reality worked back to change the status of reality itself. The examples discussed testify to a degree of aesthetic sophistication which acknowledges the power of images to confound our definitions of fantasy and reality.<sup>446</sup> In the cultural production of the period, reality became vernacularized, subject to bends and twists. Fantasy thus played a prominent role in the articulation of social and artistic identities.

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<sup>446</sup> I am inspired by the chapter 'Representation and Reality' in Freedberg 1989.

## **Concluding Remarks:**

### **The Island, the Beauty and the Turtle**

Feminine figures and auspicious spaces intersected in late seventeenth century urban culture. Outside their previous contexts, they were re-mixed according to a mercantile logic - everything, including images, stories, meanings, came within reach, both in terms of availability (through printing) and of ability to be manipulated and customized. This semiotic fluidity was epitomized by the buoyancy of the floating world, and embraced in a celebratory spirit. No meaning was perfectly delimited, and hybrid spaces and identities emerged: both real and imaginary, here and there, now and then. This lack of closure was not destabilizing: since it was circumscribed to entertainment and marketability, it did not challenge the way things were. The phenomenon was not deeply disturbing and did not explore its own subversive implications. These cultural productions were never meant to be more than light witty fun. But in their play they enclosed evolving possibilities of thinking about space and identity. There was considerable variety, however, and this is why the study of the significance of this cultural phenomenon must be grounded in specific study cases.

The results of this study first of all relate to the reconsideration of three categories of sources. The first are printed maps, which emerge as a 'deep text'<sup>447</sup> thoroughly embedded in the artistic practice of the time. Maps were both fantastically embellished and politically sensitive. Furthermore, they directly informed the spatial metaphors of vernacular productions describing the urban experience. They drew on earlier maps' function of defining an impure space of alterity against a pure space of the home territory. They added two elements: a political overtone, in the context of the newly formed shogunal state; and an expanded audience, which made it possible for the 'spatial vernacular' manifested in maps to participate in the emergence of an imagined community.

One of the issues considered was the relationship of vernacular maps to their elite counterparts. Rather than positing top-down models of information transmission, I have argued for a non-hierarchical cultural landscape in which elite and vernacular productions constituted vectors embodying differing agendas on parallel levels. Rather than searching for patterns of intersection between these vectors, I have aimed to

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<sup>447</sup> Traganou 2004 p. 27.

provide an overview of this cultural landscape by tracing the range of possibilities of representing the spatial imaginary. When analysing intersections between these vectors of the spatial imaginary, I have focused not on issues of influence and transmission, but rather on questions of homology and compatible features.

Of course, these vectors were not interacting anonymously, but were mobilized by various actors. The synchronic approach of this study has revealed the wide significance of two categories of sources related to protagonists of the vernacular cultural landscape. The first is Ihara Saikaku. Through the examples discussed I have shown that the study of Ihara Saikaku's work needs to be extended both in range – to consider both Saikaku's biography and the activities of his broad network of collaborators – and in scope: Saikaku's poetic production provides a rich but largely unexplored corpus of records of collaborative artistic practice in this period, equalled perhaps only by the artistic circle formed around Ōta Nanpo at the turn of the nineteenth century. Just like in that later case, visual elements were crucial to artistic interaction. As with cartographic sources, I attempted a reconsideration of the hierarchy of visual producers in this period, by considering a wide range of materials beyond the oft-studied *ukiyo-e* prints.

The work of Hishikawa Moronobu, often described as the founder of the *ukiyo-e* genre, has therefore provided the second case study of a specific cultural producer of the period. By setting aside issues of genre genealogy and focusing on spatial techniques, I have recovered part of the contemporary profile of Moronobu, who emerges as a versatile and experimental artist, but not as a particularly exceptional one: Moronobu's works capitalized on the rise of Edo culture by cleverly repackaging old formulas into new contexts. However, Moronobu's multi-faceted corpus of visual materials provides a fascinating resource for analysing the characteristics of cultural production in this period.

Besides reconsidering the above sources, this study has interpreted iconography beyond visual genealogy, as a form of reception of ideas about space and identity. Thus, marginal territories on Gyōki-type maps had 'represented the fantastic other that lies behind the civilized world and does not interfere with people's normal existence.'<sup>448</sup> In late seventeenth century urban culture, the nature of this fantastic other changed: it began to interfere with people's normal existence. From an ontological point of view, the

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<sup>448</sup> Dolce 2007 p. 304.

diabolic, frightening element of the Other faded, and was replaced by an element of entertainment. The Other was tamed and spatially brought closer, interiorized. This centripetal tendency is visible in the restriction of the cartographic gaze around the home territory. Concomitantly, vernacular representational spaces show an increased preoccupation with spaces within the home territory.

On maps, the iconic vision of the home territory had been framed by inaccessible and unchanging marginal territories. At the urban level, some characteristics of this geographical imaginary, such as paradisaical elements, were inherited. But at the same time, the prostitution quarters were by necessity fashionable spaces, representations of which entertained the illusion of their accessibility. The emerging iconography of the prostitution quarters therefore employed tropes of foreignness to construct a pleasurable encounter with the Other. Geographical modes of knowledge were used to describe ontological modes of knowledge. The structure of the urban space of the late seventeenth century was closer to the structure of sacred space, as it was punctuated by clusters of qualitatively different space. This was different from a modern centred space with a reach evenly distributed across the national territory. I therefore discussed representations of prostitution quarters in terms of a topological space based on relationships and hierarchies. One of the conclusions emerging from this study is that material representations actively participated in the configuration of this topological space.

The narrative setting of liminal encounter is a common thread running through these materials. Until this period, the prevailing scenario had been that of encountering the Other by going out there, into foreign territory.<sup>449</sup> This study documented a shift from expressing a transformation of identity through spatial tropes to acting out a momentary enactment of Otherness in mundane home settings. A different type of entertainment emerged – instead of stories and images, representations of the encounter with the Other tended towards a complete material simulation of the actual experience, which involved a change of identities and role-playing. The recurrence of themes of access and presence testify to a trauma of inaccessibility of double origin: restrictions of traveling abroad and the prohibitive cost of a visit to the top brothels. Representations of both foreignness and scenarios of entertainment mediated between the urban subject and his material aspirations. The spatial imaginary was thus intimately bound with

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<sup>449</sup> Toby 1994.

representations of space.

Overall, there emerges an incredibly wide range of representational spaces in the late seventeenth century. This study has engaged them as constituents of an extended cultural network, while tracing the configurations of one specific concept: the spatial imaginary. The attempt has been to set the base for a comprehensive study of the cultural system of the time. While this study has focused on the new possibilities of spatial experience introduced by the printed format, the potential of these sources is much larger. It is my hope that this study contributes to a better knowledge of these sources and encourages further glances.<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> For instance, there is room for further research on the material culture record in order to assess the precise impact of forms of representation on actual spatial practice. Likewise, the analysis of three-dimensional objects can be developed further, by considering for example the inclusion of Chinese-looking elements on export lacquers, or late seventeenth century Imari statuettes in the form of Kanbun beauties or sages riding a turtle.



## Appendix

Work	Illustrator	Year	Format	Looking over shoulder	Wall image	Reproduced
'Scenes of the Theatre and the Pleasure Quarter'	Hishikawa Moronobu	1672-1689	painted scroll			
<i>Yoshiwara koi no michibiki</i> ('A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara')	Hishikawa Moronobu	1678	[hand-painted] book illustration	N	bird blending with outdoor space	Kobayashi 1994 cat. 14
<i>Yoshiwara hito tabane</i> ('A Bundle of Personages from Yoshiwara')	unknown	1680	book illustration	Y, with shamisen	bird	Kankōkai 2010 vol. 3 p. 16
<i>Moto no Mokuami monogatari</i> ('Tale of Same Old Mokuami')	Hishikawa Moronobu	1680	book illustration	Y, with shamisen	plants and rock, no bird	Kankōkai 2010 vol. 3 pp. 78-9
<i>Yoshiwara no tei</i> ('Views of Yoshiwara')	Hishikawa Moronobu	1680-1	[hand-painted] single sheet print	N	curtain with no images	Kishi 1971 pp. 312-13
<i>Yoshiwara kasen</i> ('Poetic Immortals of Yoshiwara')	unknown	1680-1	book illustration	Y, with shamisen	rocks with waterfall and clouds	Narazaki 1974 cats. 64-75
<i>Shoen ōkagami</i> ('Great Mirror of Beauties')	Ihara Saikaku	1684	book illustration	N	field with waterfall	Kankōkai 2010 vol. 3 pp. 124-25
'Pastimes in Spring and Autumn'	Hishikawa Morohira	1690s	painted folding screen	Y	folding screen with chrysanthemums & butterflies	Saikaku 2000 p. 225
				Y, with shamisen	flat 'wallpaper' with branch design	Hakubutsukan 2013 cat. 72

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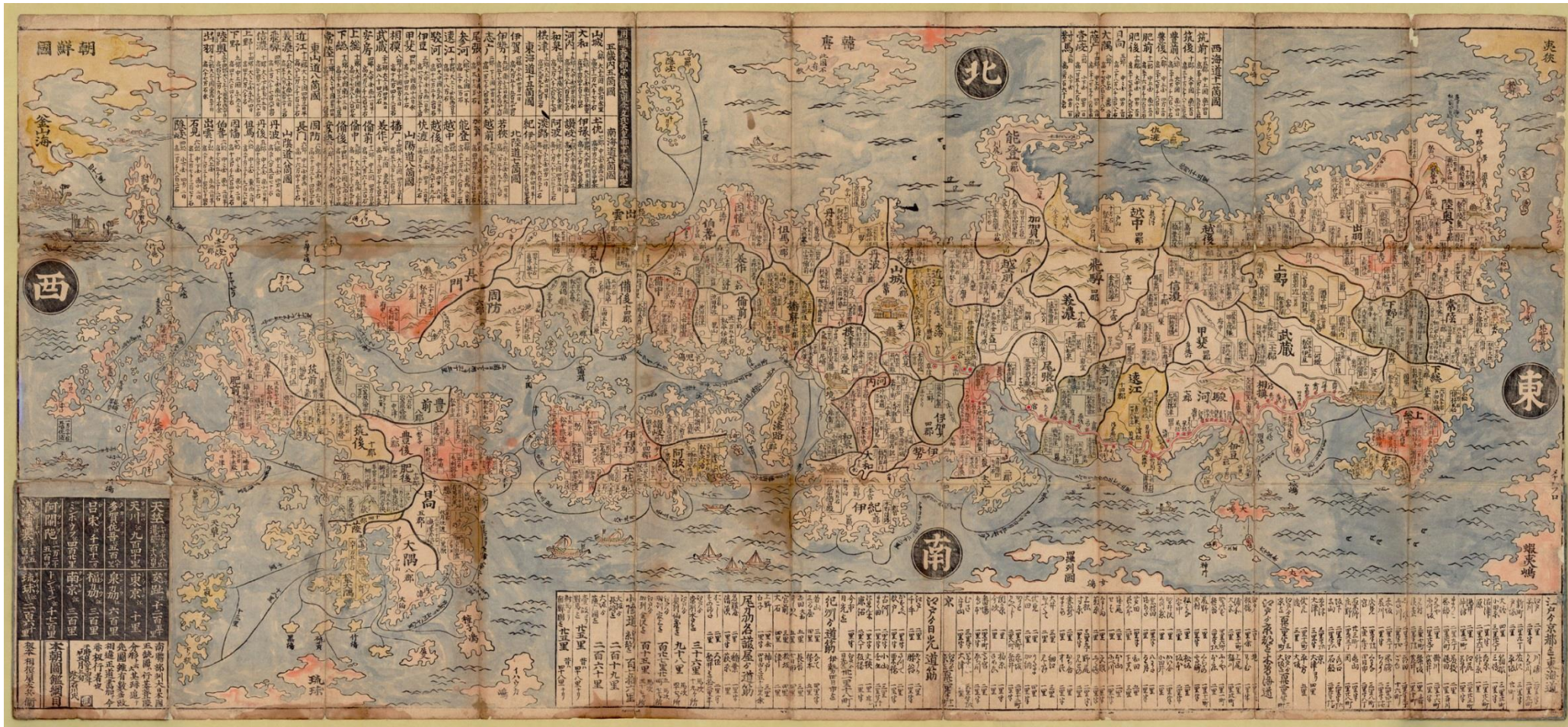


Fig. 1. Ishikawa Ryūsen and Hayashi Yoshinaga, *Honchō zukan kōmoku* ('Outline Map of Our Realm'), 1687, hand-coloured woodblock print, 57.7 by 130.1 cm, University of British Columbia Library.





Fig. 2. Detail of *Honchō zukan kōmoku* ('Outline Map of Our Realm'), 1687.



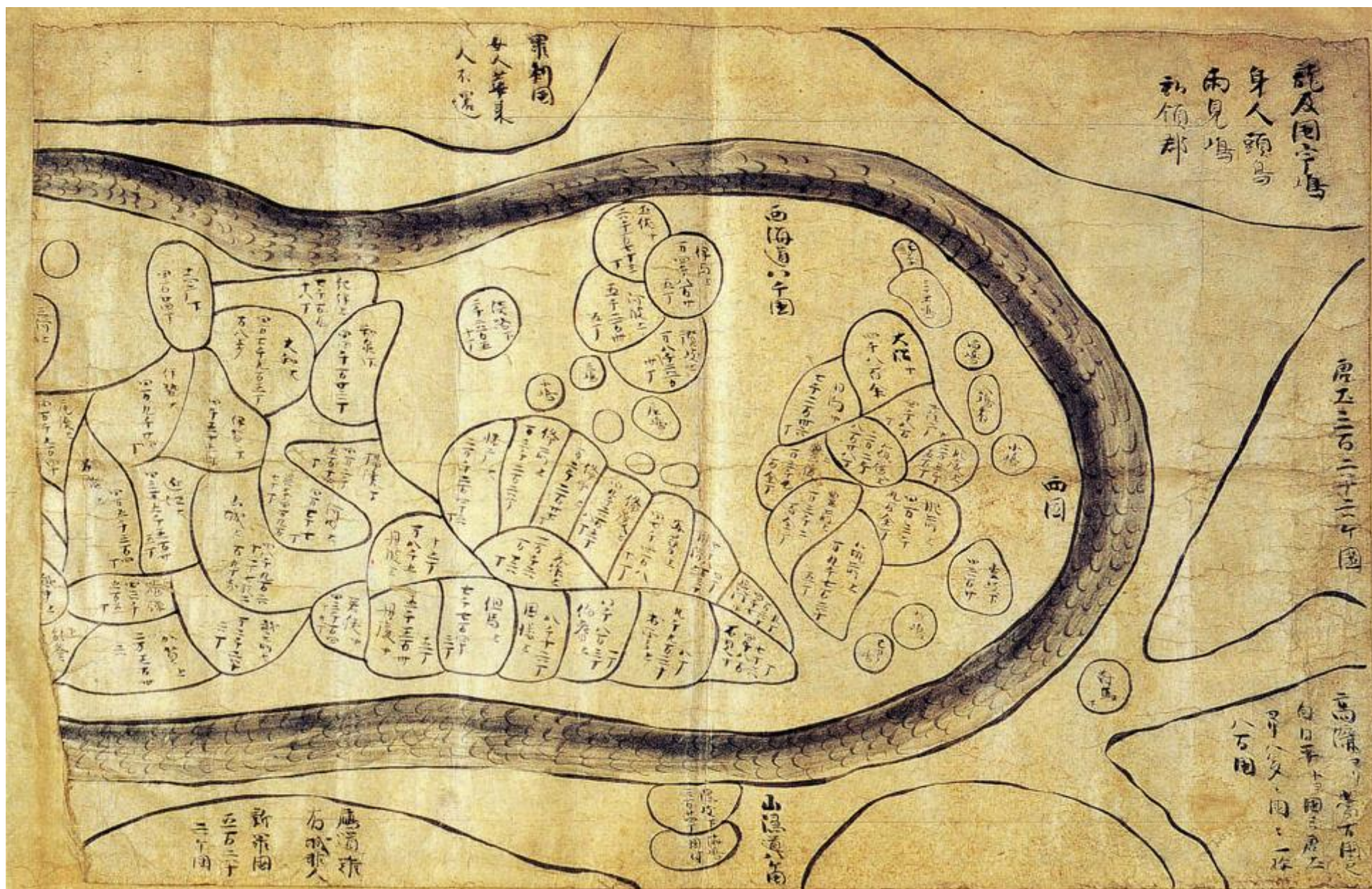


Fig. 3. Map of Japan (western half), 1305, ink on paper, 34 by 52 cm, Shōmyōji Collection, Kanazawa Bunko, Yokohama.





Fig. 4. Anonymous, *Dai nihonkoku jishin no zu* ('Earthquake Map of the Great Land of the Rising Sun'), 1624, woodblock print, 44 by 26.7 cm, Masaaki Harada Collection, Ishikawa Prefecture.



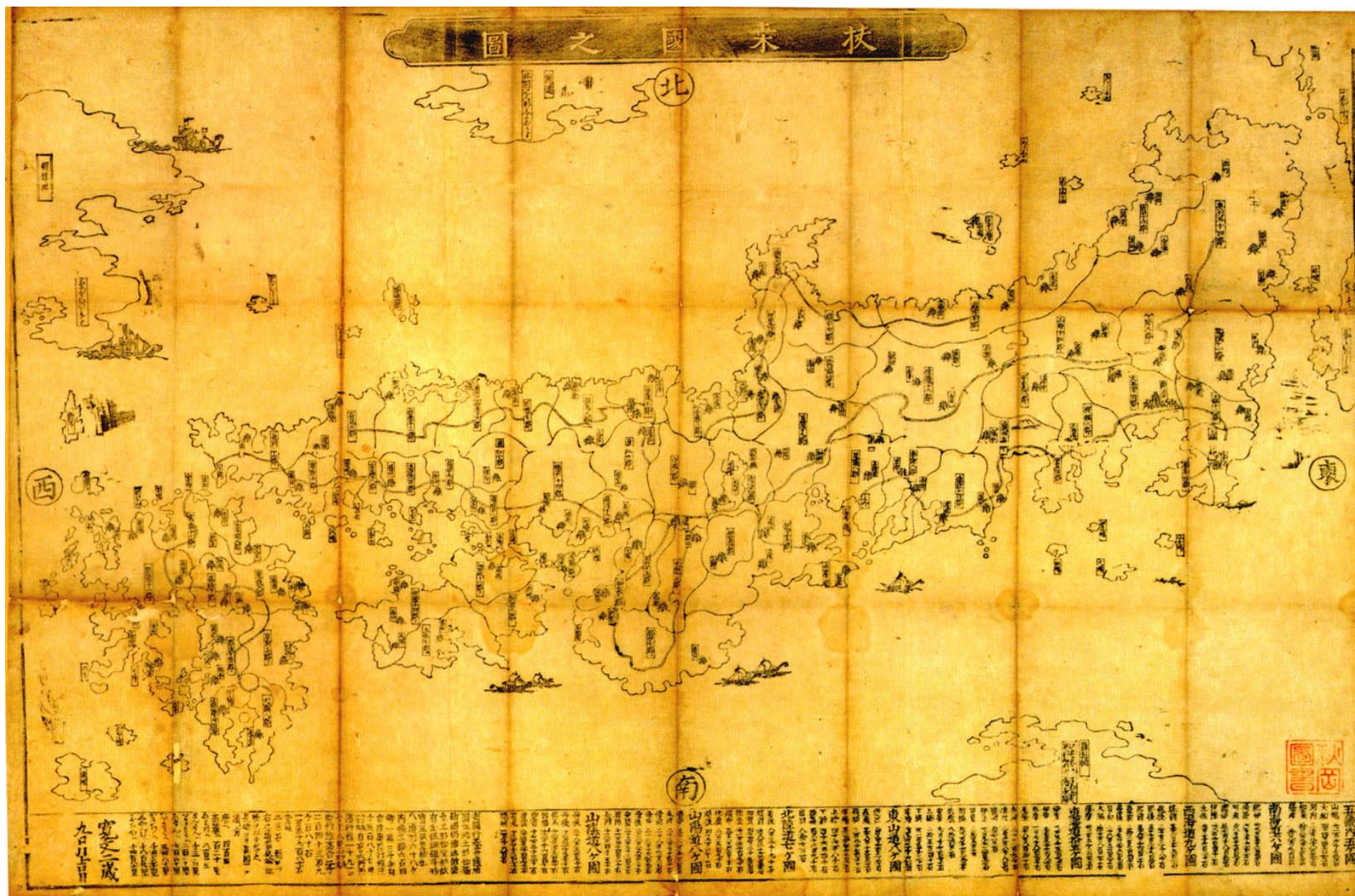


Fig. 5. *Shinkai nihon ōezu* [*Fusōkoku no zu*], 1662, woodblock print, 59 by 88 cm, Kobe City Museum.



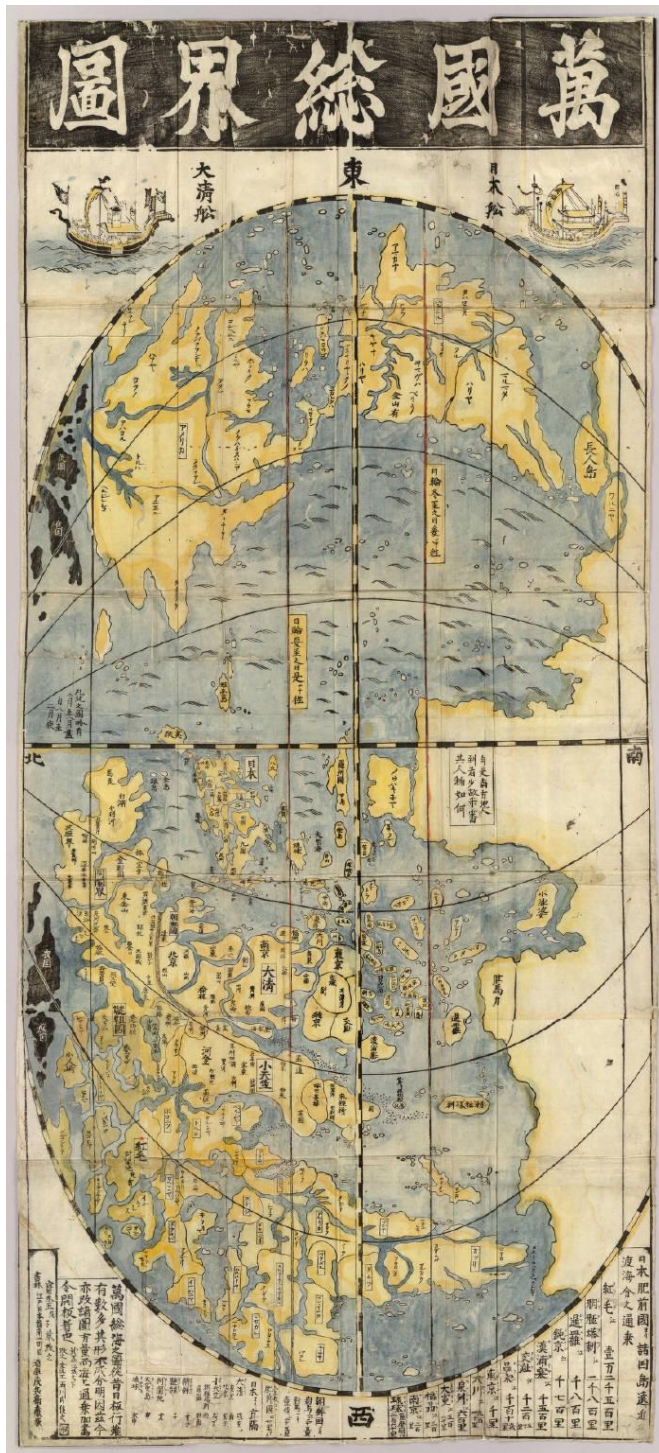


Fig. 6. Ishikawa Ryūsen,  
*Bankoku sōkai zu* ('Complete Map of the  
Myriad Realms and Lands'),  
hand-coloured woodblock print,  
1708 reprint of 1688 edition,  
University of California Berkeley.









Fig. 8. Detail of Japanese  
ship from *Bankoku sōzu*,  
1671,

National Diet Library,  
Tōkyō.

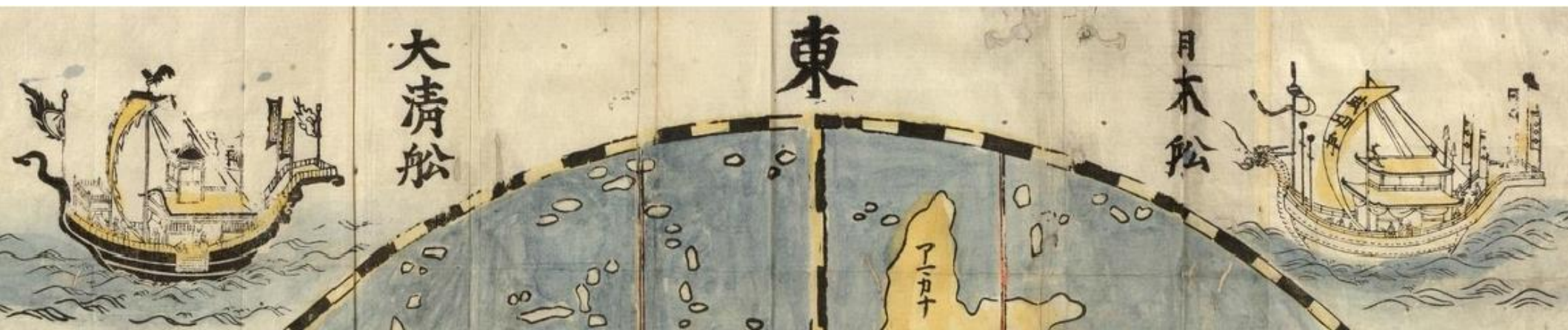


Fig. 9 Ships of the Great Qing and of 'Japan' from Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Bankoku sōkai zu* ('Map of the entire world with Myriad Countries'), 1708 reprint of 1688 edition, University of California Berkeley.





Fig. 10. Chinese traders in Nagasaki, illustration from Ihara Saikaku, *Nihon eitaigura* ('The Japanese Family Storehouse'), 1688, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.

図1 「日本永代蔵」巻五の一

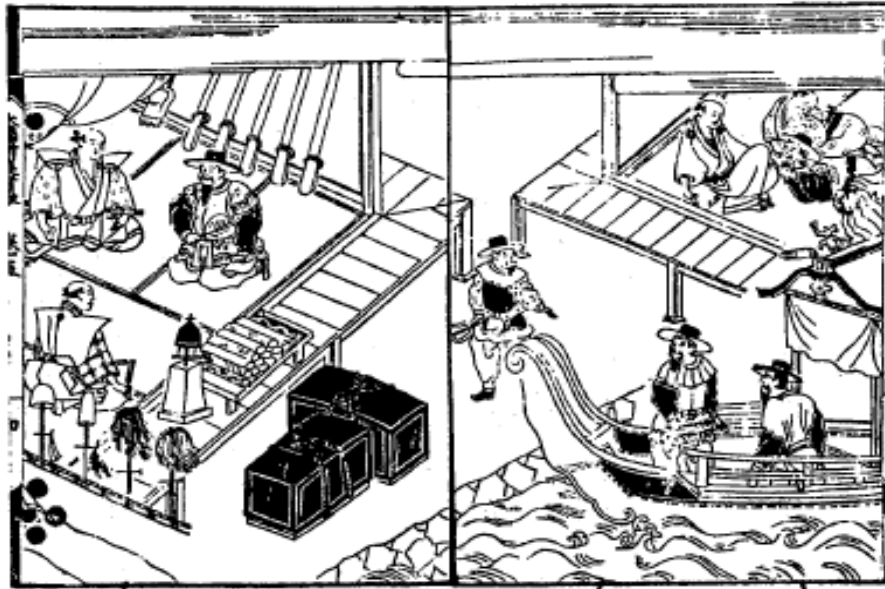


図2 「長崎土産」巻二



「同」巻三



「同」巻四

Fig. 11. Influence of illustrations to *Nagasaki miyage* on illustrations to *Nihon eitaigura*, from Wakaki 1995 p. 3.



Fig. 12. Ihara Saikaku, illustration to *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* ('Life of an Amorous Man'), 1682, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.



紙素素華お万長崎  
 美濃れれといろく  
 これとあさるふあさる  
 わり  
 質や 弟月利  
 にあてて金銀とて偽  
 まの仔細りふと人  
 とあてられと鑑據し  
 て北とあてて大坂の雲  
 や教合三百口十人朝  
 古名屋 絹布本綿お  
 星は衣帯みいころもで



Fig. 13. *Karamonoya*  
 ('luxury goods shop'),  
 illustration from *Jinrin*  
*kinmō zui* ('Illustrated  
 Encyclopaedia of  
 Humanity'), 1690,  
 woodblock-print,  
 National Diet Library,  
 Tōkyō.





Fig. 14. Yoshiwara, illustration from Asai Ryōi, *Tōkaidō meisho ki* ('Account of Famous Places along the Tōkaidō'), 1660, woodblock print, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.



Fig. 15. Illustration to  
*Nagasaki miyage* ('Souvenir  
of Nagasaki'), 1681,  
woodblock print, Kyōto  
University Library, Kyōto.



Fig. 16 Detail of Chinese ship from *Hōrai monogatari* ('Tales of Penglai'), 1660s, ink, colour and gold on paper, handscroll, Ishikawa Tōru Collection, Tōkyō.



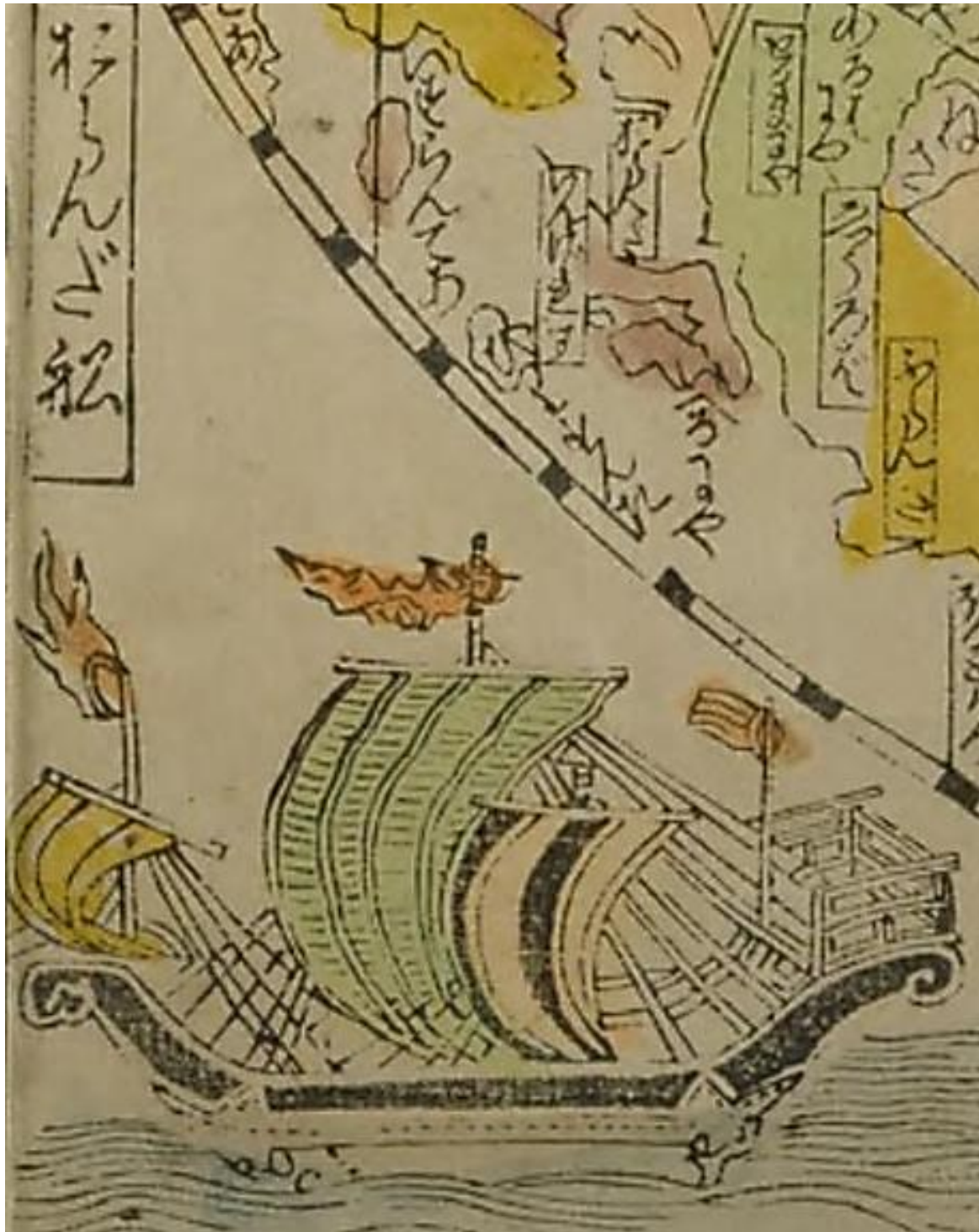


Fig. 17. Detail of Dutch ship  
from *Bankoku sōkaizu*,  
Miyako, 1671, Waseda  
University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 18. Map of Yoshiwara from *Yoshiwara ōzassho* ('Great Miscellany of the Yoshiwara'), 1675, woodblock print, Tōyō Bunko, Tōkyō, from Kankōkai 2010 vol.2.



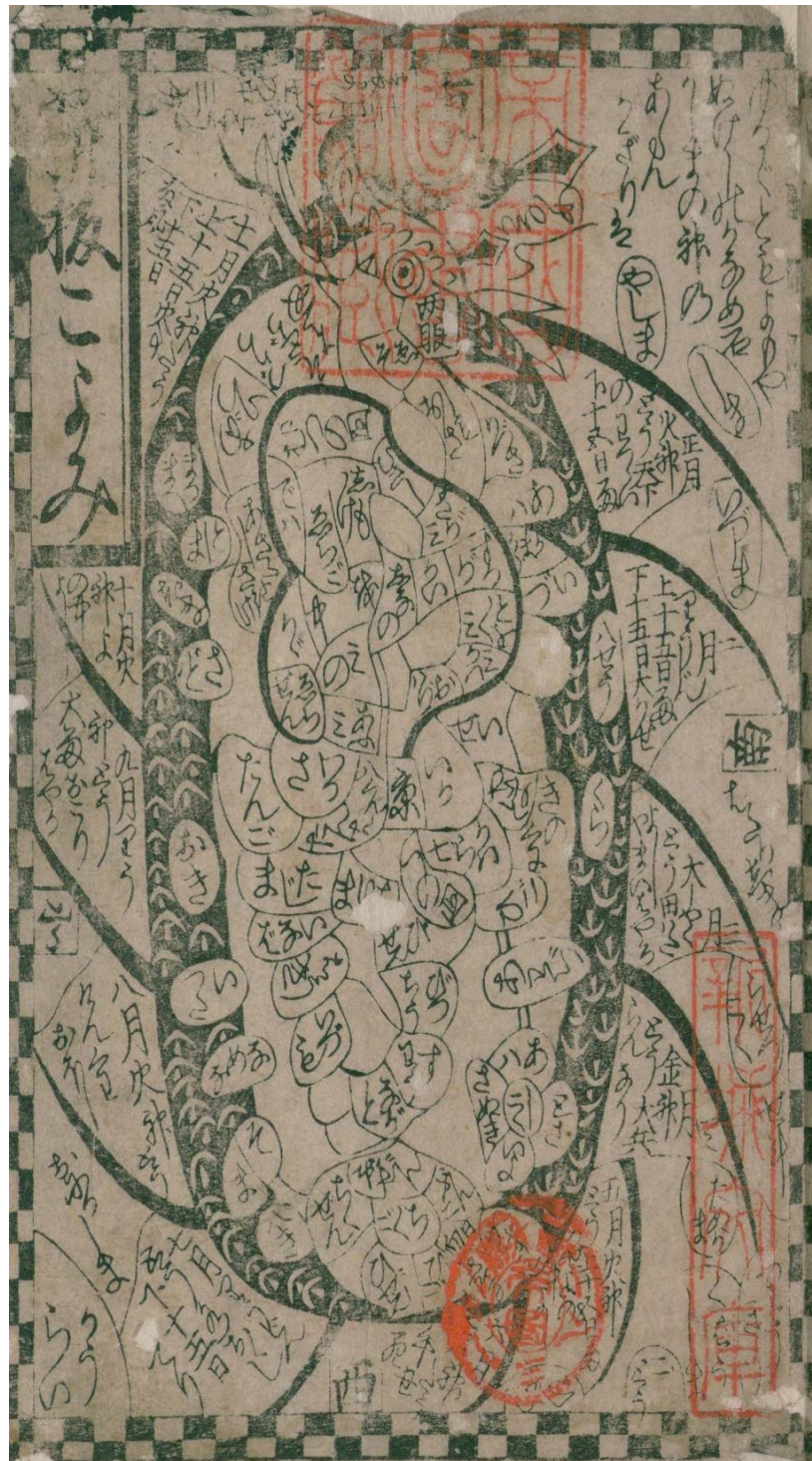


Fig. 19. Earthquake map from *Shinpan koyomi* ('Newly Edited Almanac'), 1663, woodblock print, National Diet Library, Tokyo.



Fig. 20. 'Yoshitsune provides clothes to the inhabitants of the Isle of the Naked,'

Illustration from *Onzōshi shima watari* ('Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands'), hand-coloured bound book, Akita Prefectural Library, Akita.





Fig. 21. Sixth Month, from Ihara Saikaku, 'Poetic Dedications on The Twelve Months,' 1680s, ink and colour on paper, set of twelve poem cards, Kakimori Bunko, Itami.





Fig. 22. Inhabitants of China ('The Great Ming'), detail of *Bankoku sōzu* ('Complete Map of Myriad Lands'), Nagasaki, 1645, Kyūshū University Museum.



Fig. 23. Inhabitants of Africa, detail of *Bankoku sōzu* ('Complete Map of Myriad Lands'), Nagasaki, 1645, Kyūshū University Museum.





Fig. 24. Illustrations from Nakamura Tekisai, *Kinmō Zui* ('Illustrated Encyclopaedia'), 1666, woodblock print, Shōken bunko, Kyūshū University Library, Fukuoka.





Fig. 25. Mount Penglai from *Hōrai monogatari* ('Tales of Penglai'), ink, colour and gold on paper, Jissen Women's University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 26. Mount Penglai, illustration from *Hōrai monogatari* ('Tales of Penglai'), 1660s, ink, colour and gold on paper, handscroll, Ishikawa Tōru Collection, Tōkyō.





Fig. 27. Illustration of the Island of Women from 'Yoshitsune's Voyages Among the Islands,' mid-seventeenth c., ink, colour and gold on paper, bound book, Akita Prefectural Library, Akita.



Fig. 28 Hishikawa Moronobu, Three prostitutes including Kokane bidding farewell to Yonosuke on Sado island, illustration from Ihara Saikaku, 'Life of an Amorous Man,' 1684, woodblock print, Akagi Bunko, Osaka University, Osaka.



Fig. 29. Saeki no Kuramoto encountering the goddess of Itsukushima, illustration from Tanaka Fumiuchi, *Honchō jisha monogatari* ('Tales of Temples and Shrines of Our Realm'), 1667, woodblock print, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 30. Prostitutes of Itsukushima bidding farewell to clients, illustration from Ihara Saikaku, *Kindai Yasainja* ('Recent Stylish Recluses'), 1686, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.

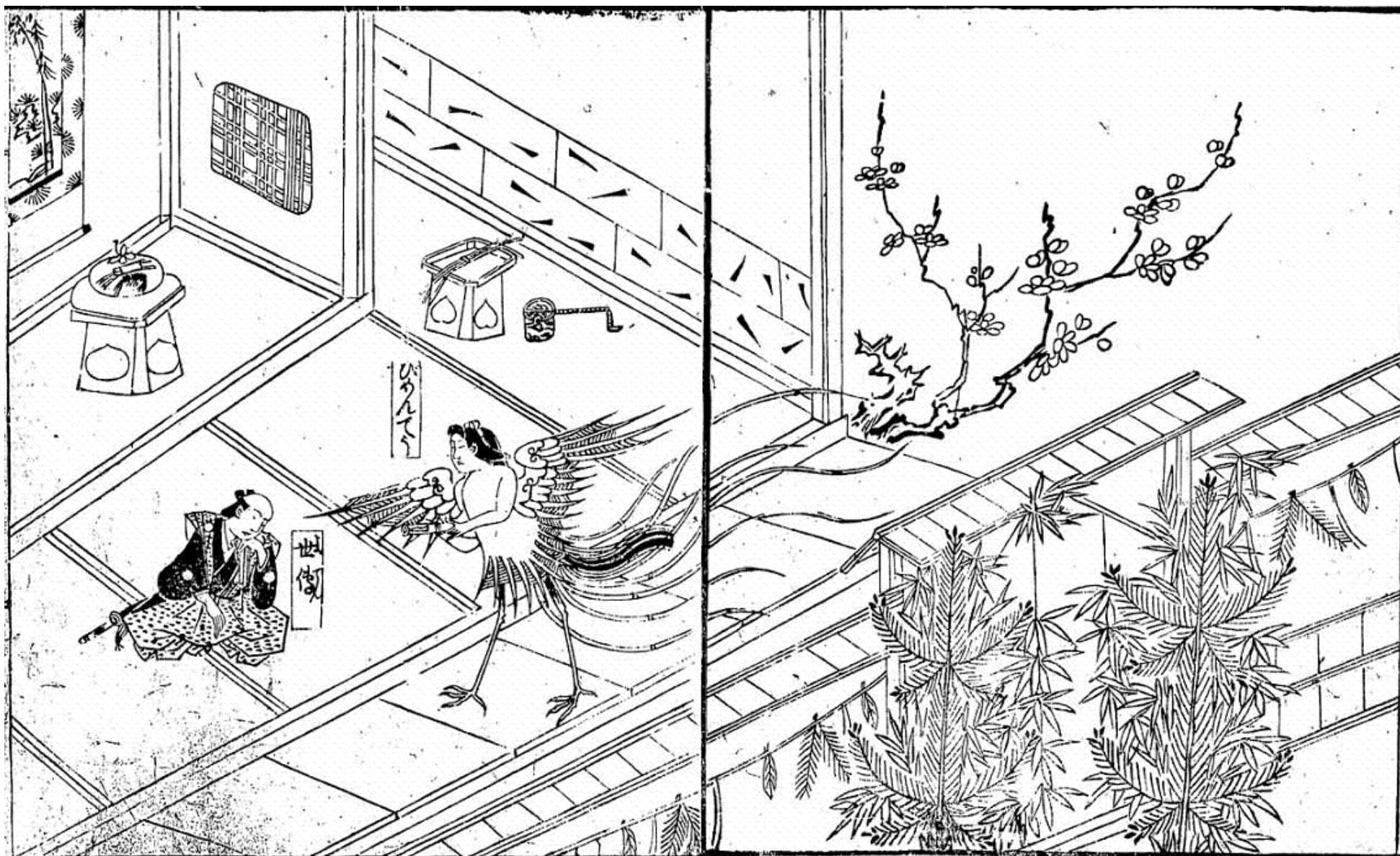


Fig. 31. Ihara Saikaku, Yonosuke's son's dream, illustration to *Kōshoku nidai otoko shoen ōkagami* ('Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man'), 1684, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 32. Illustration from 'The Legend of Brahma,' mid-17<sup>th</sup> c., ink, colour and gold on paper, set of two *nara-ehon* albums, 24.3 by 32.2 cm, MFA Boston.



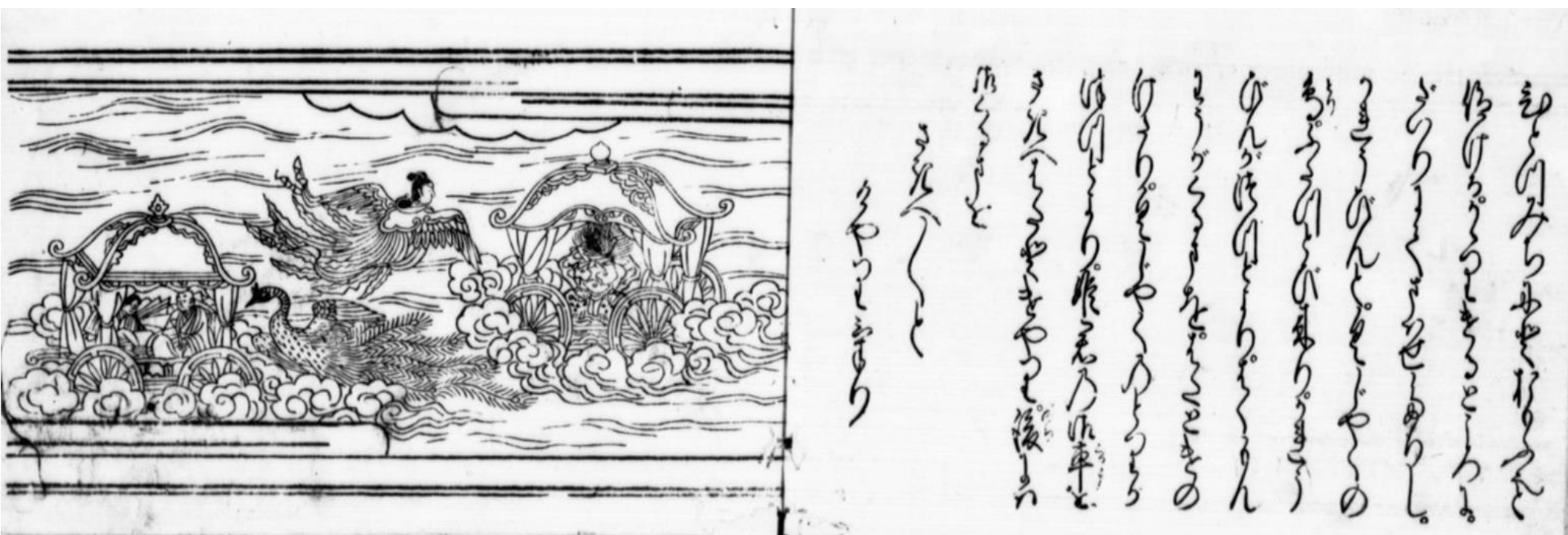


Fig. 33. Shibukawa Sei'emon, 'The Legend of Brahma' from *Shūgen otogi bunko* ('The Companion Library of Auspicious Words'), 1700, woodblock print, 17 by 23 cm, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.



Fig. 34. Asaina and Akira on Hachijo island, illustration from *Hōjō godaiki* ('Record of Five Generations of the Hōjō Family'), 1699, woodblock print, Akagi Collection, Osaka University Library.



Fig. 35. Fisherman meeting a beautiful woman off Itsukushima coast, illustration from *Asakusa shūi monogatari* ('Tales Gathered from Asakusa'), 1692, woodblock print, Tōhoku University Library, Sendai.



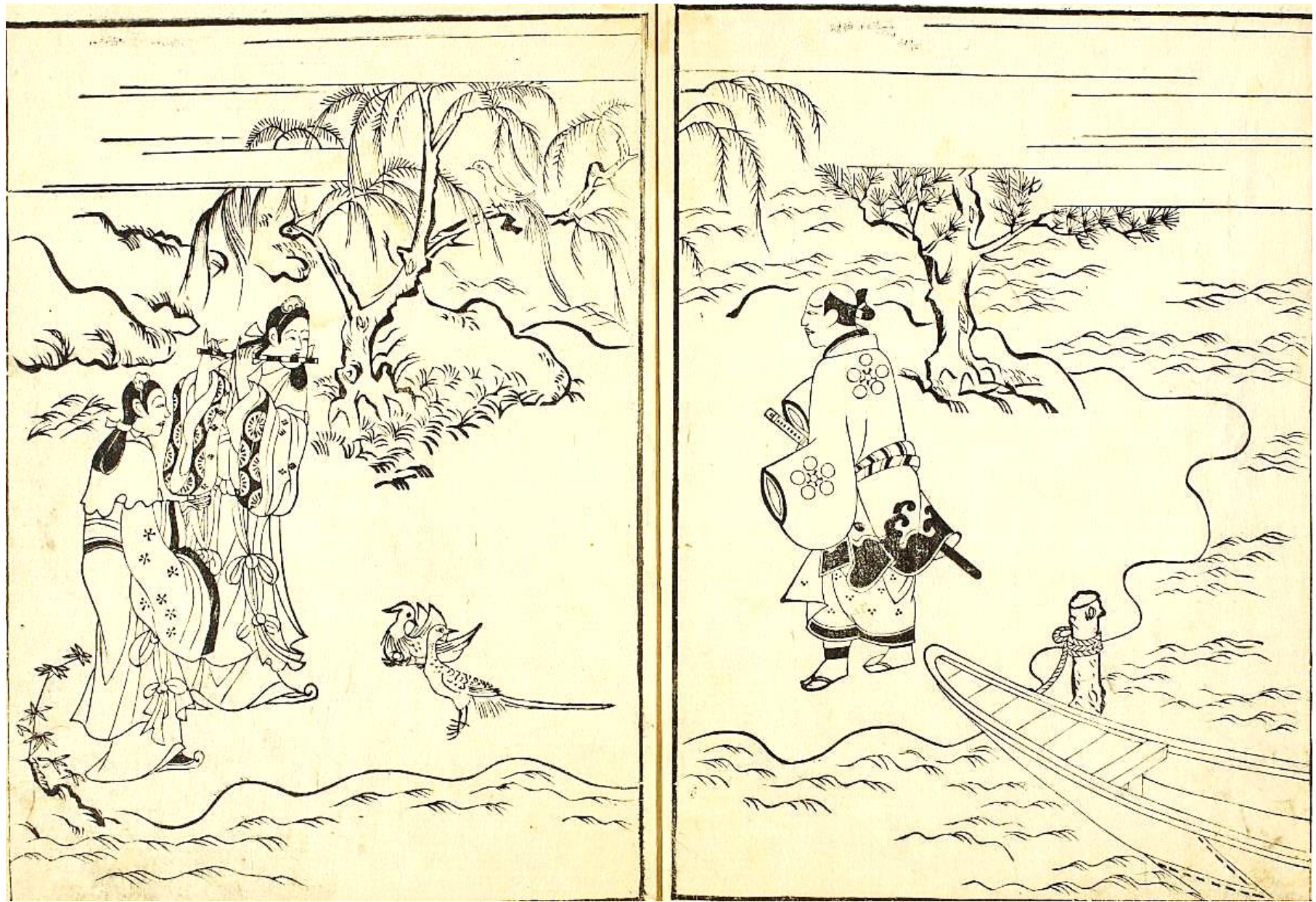


Fig. 36. The lusty man from Akashi arrives on the Island of Women, illustration from *Kōshoku haru no akebono* ('The Amorous Dawn of Spring'), 1692, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 37. Ihara Saikaku, Yonosuke being attacked by ghosts of his past affairs, illustration from *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* ('Life of an Amorous Man'), 1682, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.



Fig. 38. Hishikawa Moronobu, Yonosuke being attacked by ghosts of his past affairs, illustration from *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* ('Life of an Amorous Man'), 1684, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 39. Hishikawa Moronobu, Yonosuke being attacked by ghosts of his past affairs, illustration from *Kōshoku Yamato-e no kongen* ('Founder of Lusty Native Painting'), 1686, woodblock print, Tōyō Bunko, Tōkyō.





Fig. 40. Hishikawa Morohira, Pastimes in Spring and Autumn, ink, colour and gold leaf on paper, 79.1 by 244 cm, pair of folding screens (right above), 1690s, Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō.





Fig. 41a. Anonymous, *Yūroku-zu byōbu* ('Amusement scenes on folding screens'), left of a pair, right half, ink colour and gold on paper, Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō.





Fig. 41b. Anonymous, *Yūroku-zu byōbu* ('Amusement scenes on folding screens'), left of a pair, left half, ink colour and gold on paper, Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō.





Fig. 42. Ihara Saikaku,  
Illustration from *Kindai  
Yasainja* ('Recent Stylish  
Recluses'), 1686,  
woodblock print, Waseda  
University Library, Tōkyō.



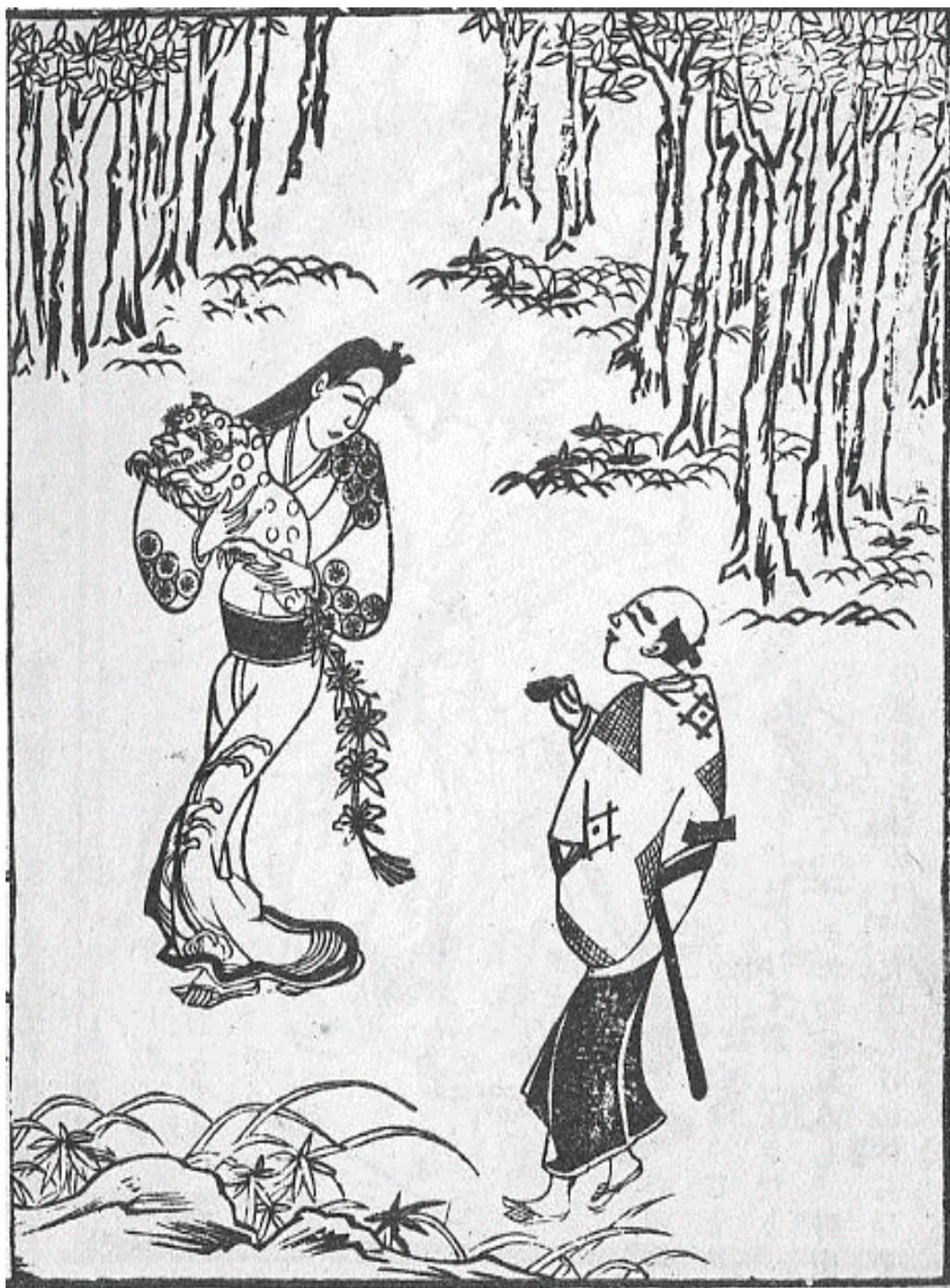


Fig. 43. Ihara Saikaku,  
Illustration from *Kindai  
Yasainja* ('Recent Stylish  
Recluses'), 1686,  
woodblock print, Waseda  
University Library, Tōkyō.





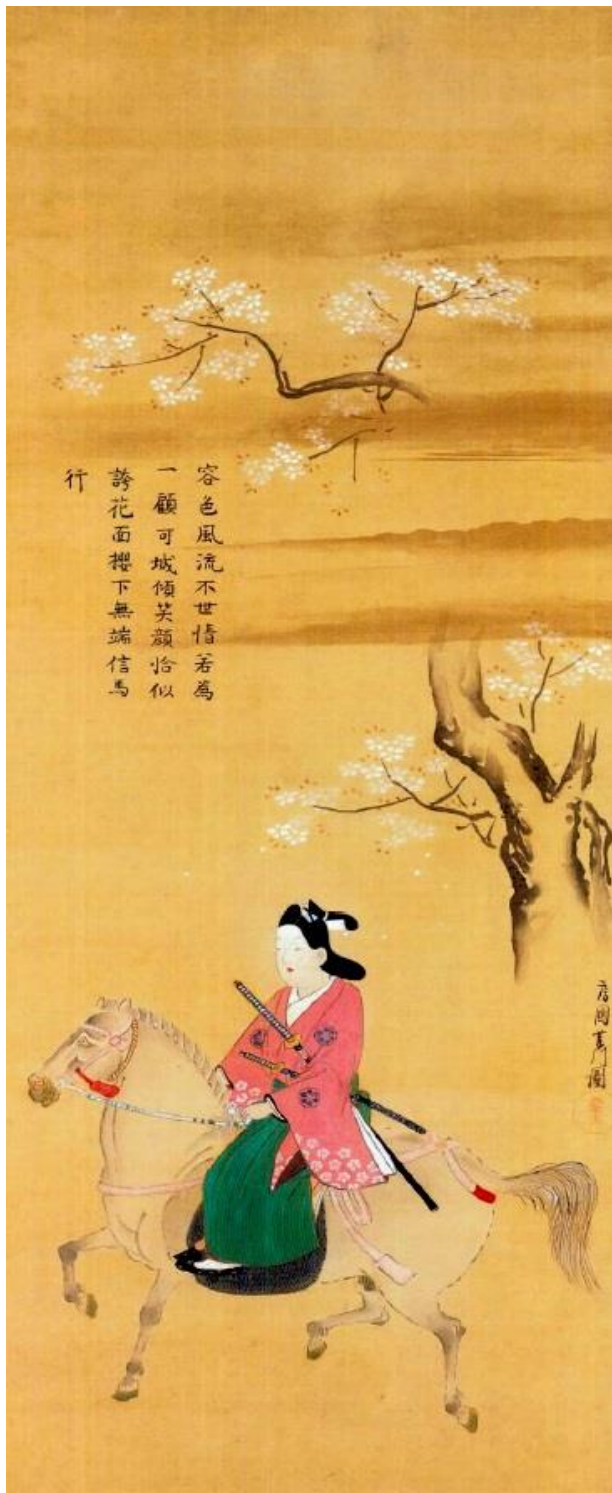


Fig. 45. Hishikawa Moronobu, 'Youth on Horseback,' early 1690s, ink, colour and gold wash on silk, hanging scroll, 91.5 by 36.9 cm, private collection.

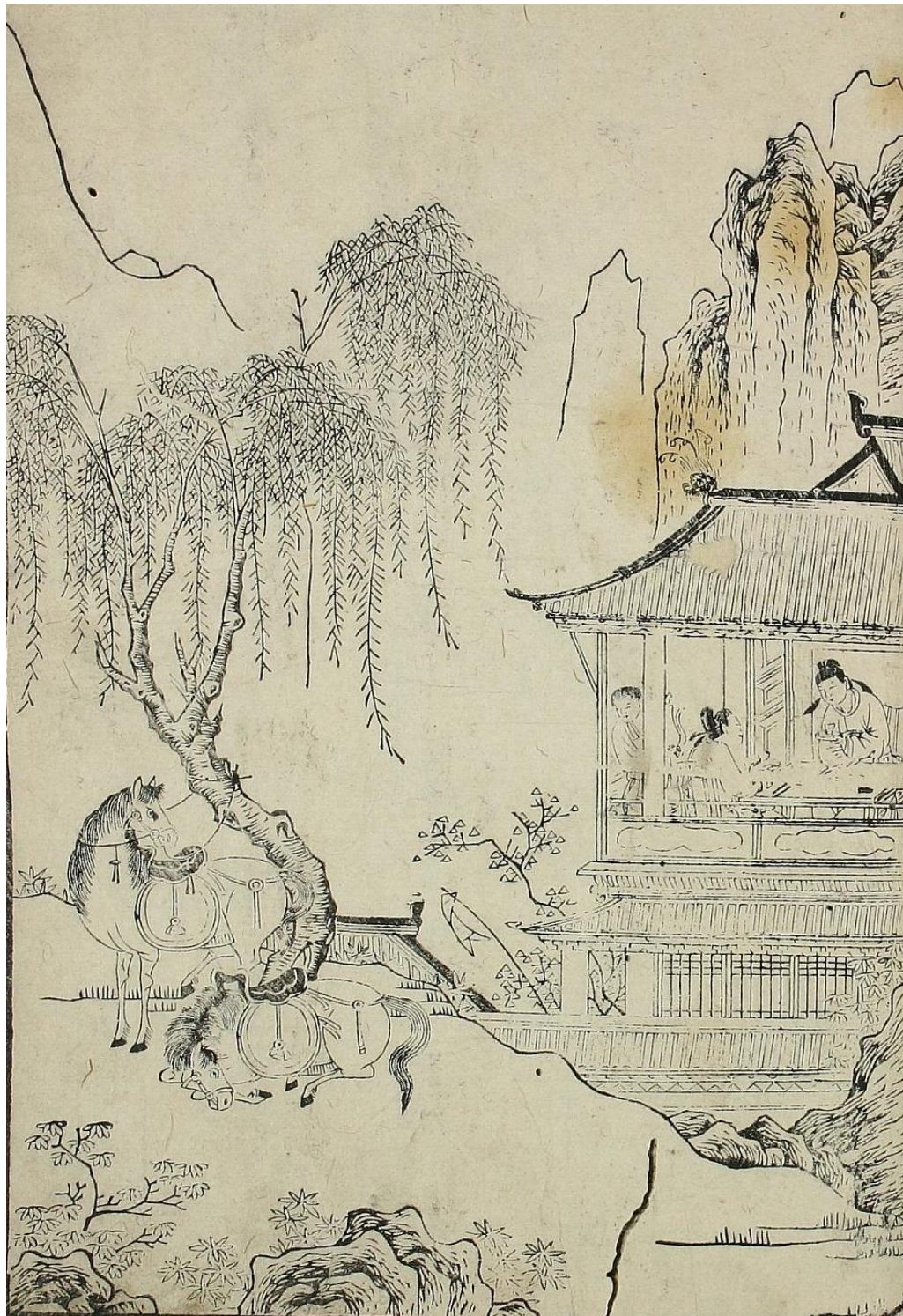


Fig. 46. Illustration of Wang Wei's 'Song of Youth' from *Bazhong Huapu* ('Primer on Eight Varieties of Painting'), woodblock print, 1672, Waseda University Library.



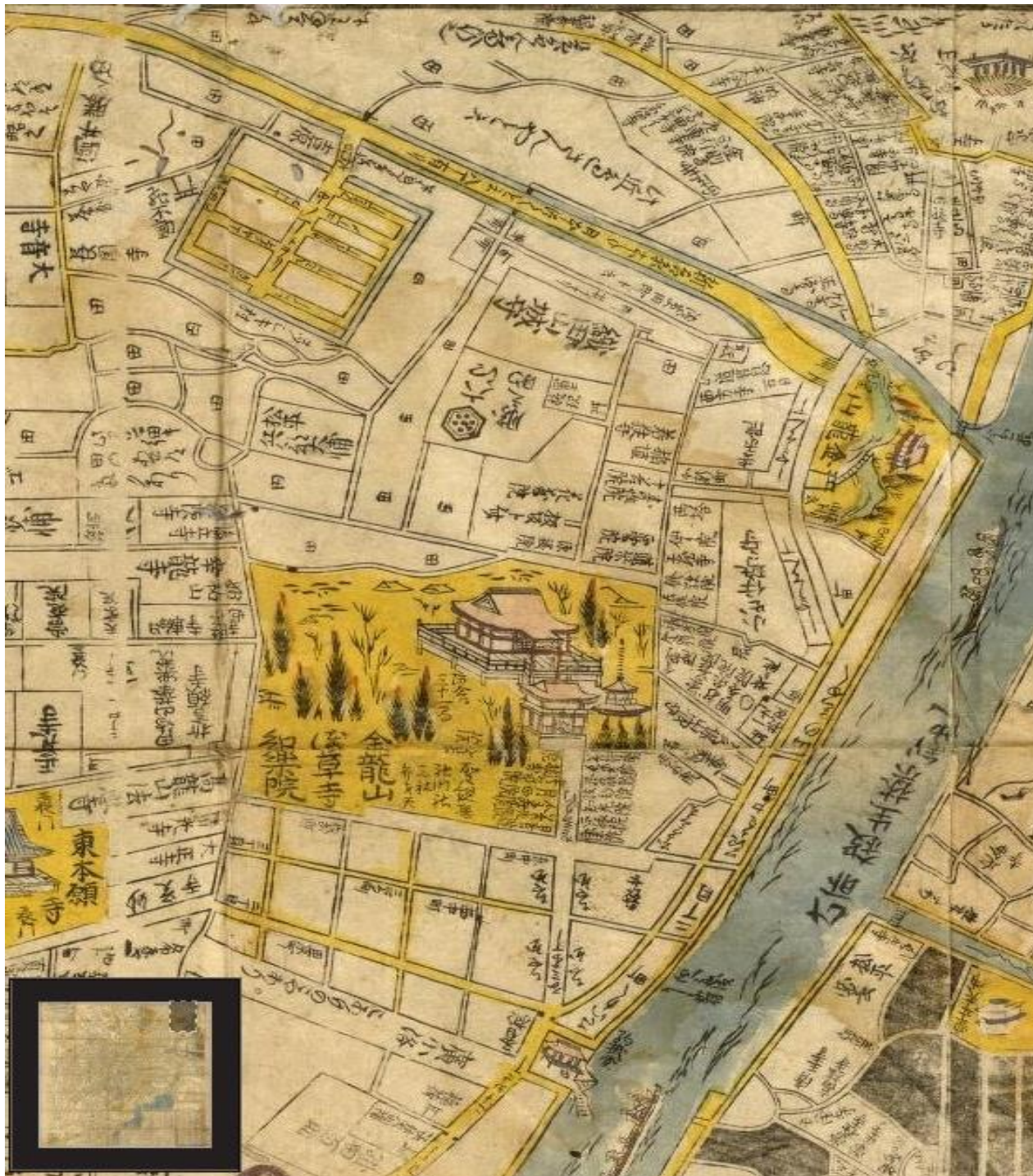


Fig. 47. Detail of Asakusa temple and Yoshiwara quarters from Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Edo zukan kōmoku* ('Outline Map of Edo'), 1689, hand-coloured woodblock print, University of British Columbia Library.





Fig. 48. Detail of Hakone checkpoint from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Tōkaidō bunken ezu* ('Charted Map of the Tōkaidō Road'), 1690, woodblock print, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 49. The approach to Yoshiwara, detail from Hishikawa Moronobu, 'Scenes of the Theatre and the Pleasure Quarter,' 1672-1689, ink and colour on a paper, handscroll, 32.1 by 697 cm, Tōkyō National Museum.





Fig. 50. The main gate of Yoshiwara, from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Yoshiwara no Tei* ('Views of Yoshiwara') series, early 1680s, single sheet woodblock print, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





Fig. 51. Hishikawa Moronobu, Scenes from the Yoshiwara Pleasure Quarter, 1690s, ink, colour and gold on paper, left of a pair of folding screens, 139.8 by 355.2 cm, MFA Boston.





Fig. 52. A house of assignation in Yoshiwara, from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Yoshiwara no Tei* ('Views of Yoshiwara') series, early 1680s, hand-coloured single sheet woodblock print, Geyger Collection, Museum Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt.





Fig. 53. Detail from Hishikawa Moronobu, 'Scenes from the Yoshiwara Quarter,' 1690s, ink, colour and gold on paper, folding screen, 139.8 by 355.2 cm, MFA Boston.





Fig. 54. Detail from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Ueno Hanami no Tei* ('Views of Flower Viewings at Ueno') series, early 1680s, woodblock printed single sheets painted and assembled into handscroll, MFA Boston.





Fig. 55. Scene from a house of assignation, from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Yoshiwara koi no michibiki* ('A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara'), 1678, woodblock print, illustrated book, MFA Boston.





Fig. 56. Detail of 'Scenes of the Pleasure Quarters,' 1640s, ink, colour and gold on paper, one of a pair of six-panel folding screens, 104.4 by 260.8 cm, MFA Boston.



Fig. 57. Kano Tan'yū, Dream Portrait of Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1642, ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll, 114 by 56.3 cm, Nikkō Rinnōji Temple.





Fig. 58. A house of assignation, detail from Hishikawa Moronobu, 'Scenes of the theatre and the pleasure quarter', 1672-1689, ink and colour on paper, handscroll, 32.1 by 697 cm, Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō.





Fig. 59 A house of assignation, detail from Hishikawa Moronobu, 'Scenes of the theatre and the pleasure quarter', 1672-1689, Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō.



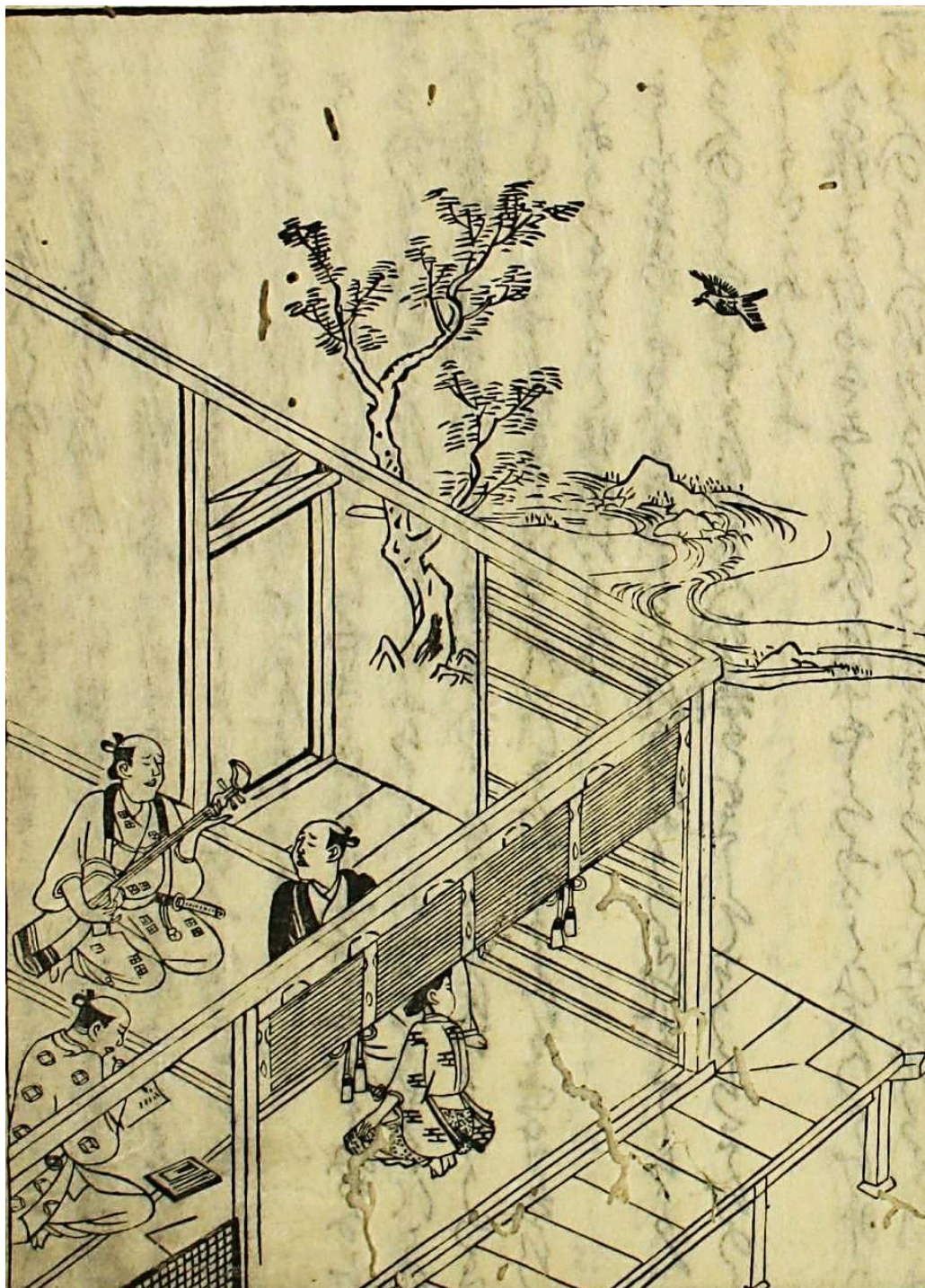


Fig. 60. Hishikawa Moronobu, illustration for *Bokuyō kyōka shū* ('Collection of Playful Verses by Bokuyō'), 1678, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.

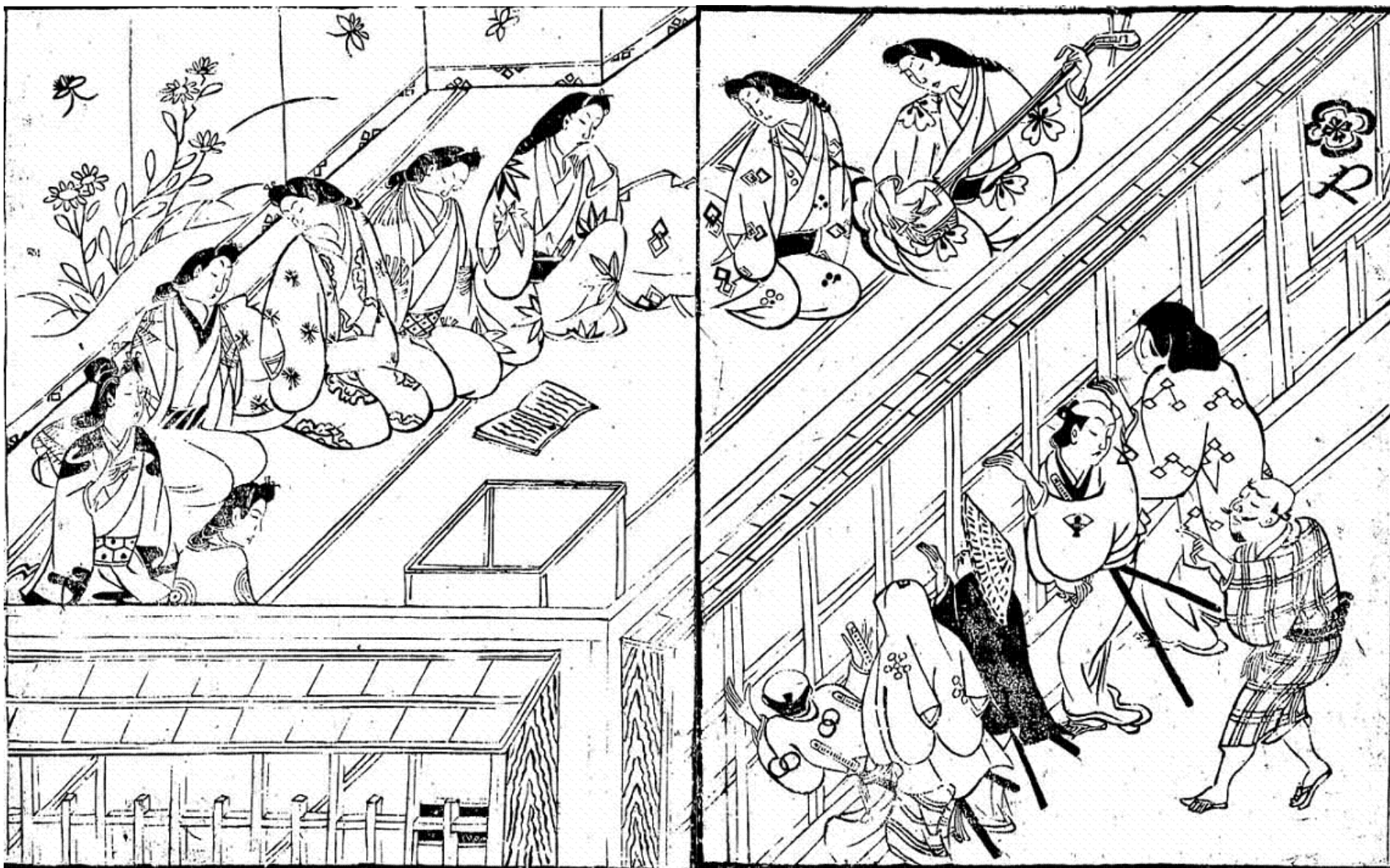


Fig. 61. Illustration from Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku nidai otoko shoen ōkagami* ('Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man'), 1684, woodblock print, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 62. Banquet in a top brothel, from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Yoshiwara koi no michibiki* ('A Guide to Love in Yoshiwara'), 1678, woodblock print, illustrated book, MFA Boston.



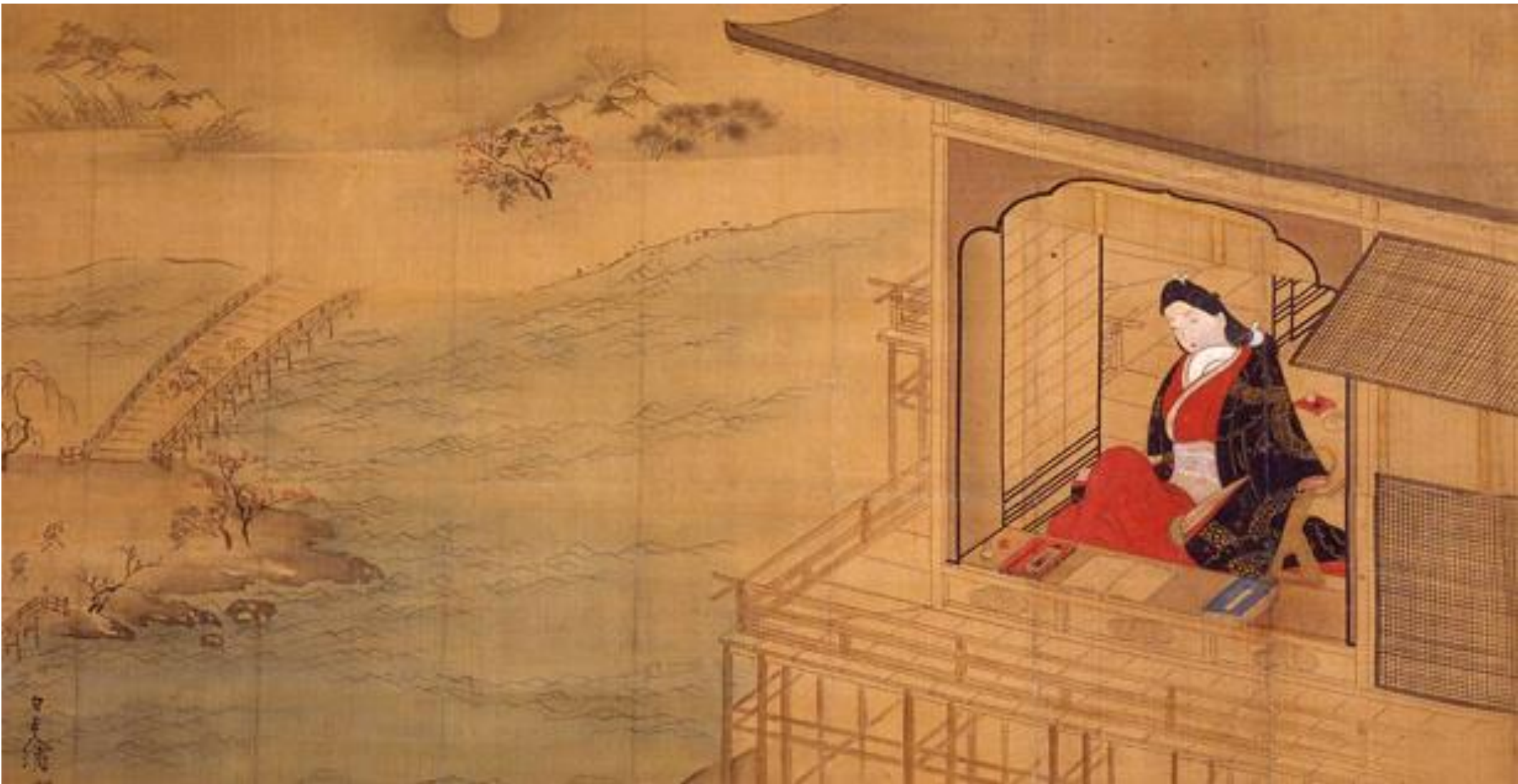


Fig. 63. Hishikawa Moronobu, Parody of the poetess Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyama Temple, ink and colours on silk, c. 1684-87, private collection.



Fig. 64. Tomona's dream  
from *Zeraku Monogatari*,  
woodblock print, 1677,  
Tōyō Bunko, Tōkyō.



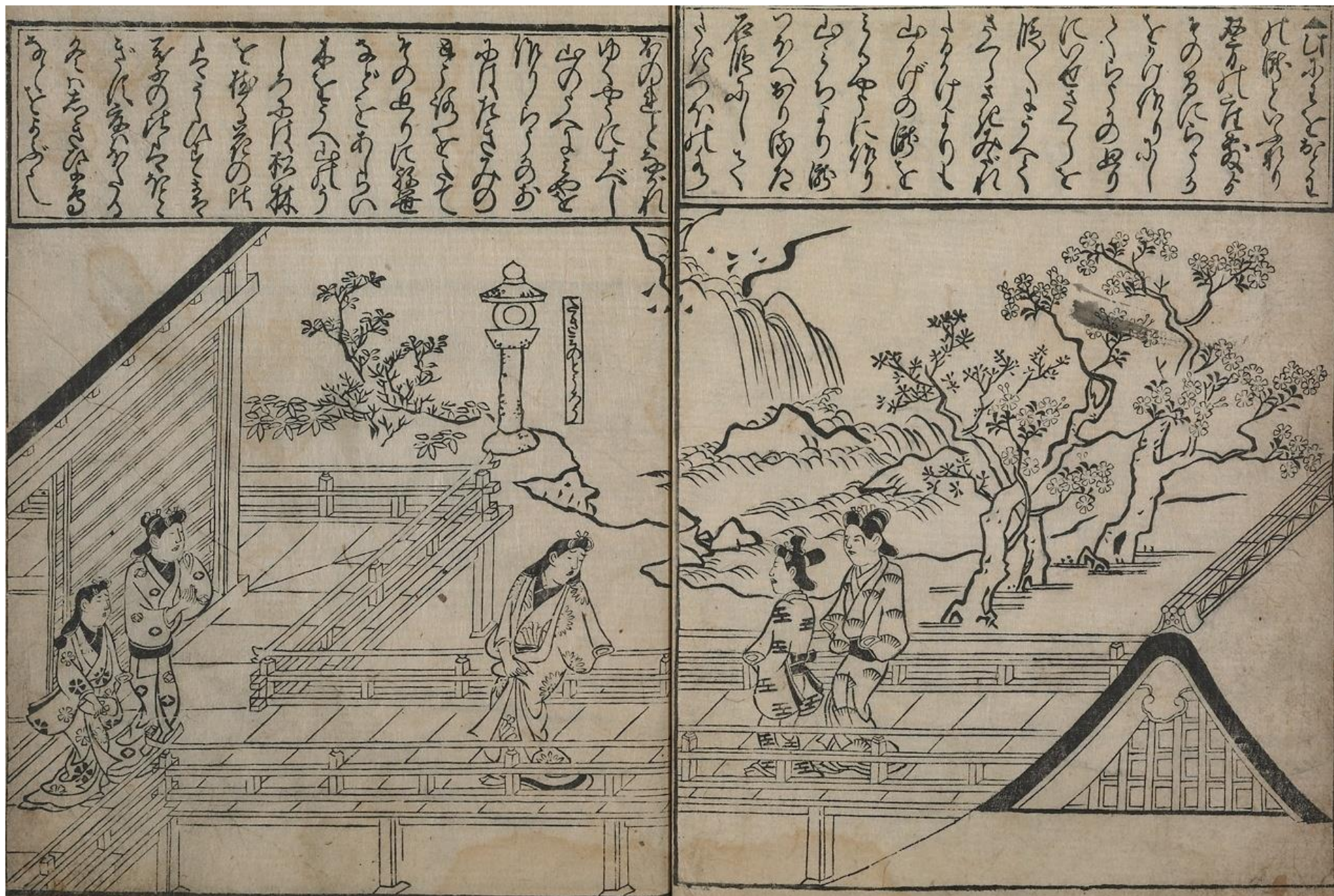


Fig. 65. Illustration from Hishikawa Moronobu, *Yokei tsukuri niwa no zu* ('Garden Designs for Creating Specific Views'), woodblock print, 1680, British Museum.





Fig. 66. Hishikawa Moronobu, *Toko no okimono* ('Ornament for the Alcove'), c. 1681–4, woodblock print, illustrated book, 27.8 by 19.2 cm, International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, Kyōto.





Fig. 67. Hishikawa Morohira, Pastimes in Spring and Autumn, detail of left screen.





Fig. 68. Hishikawa Moronobu, Beauty Looking Back, early 1690s, ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll, 63 by 31 cm, Tokyo National Museum.

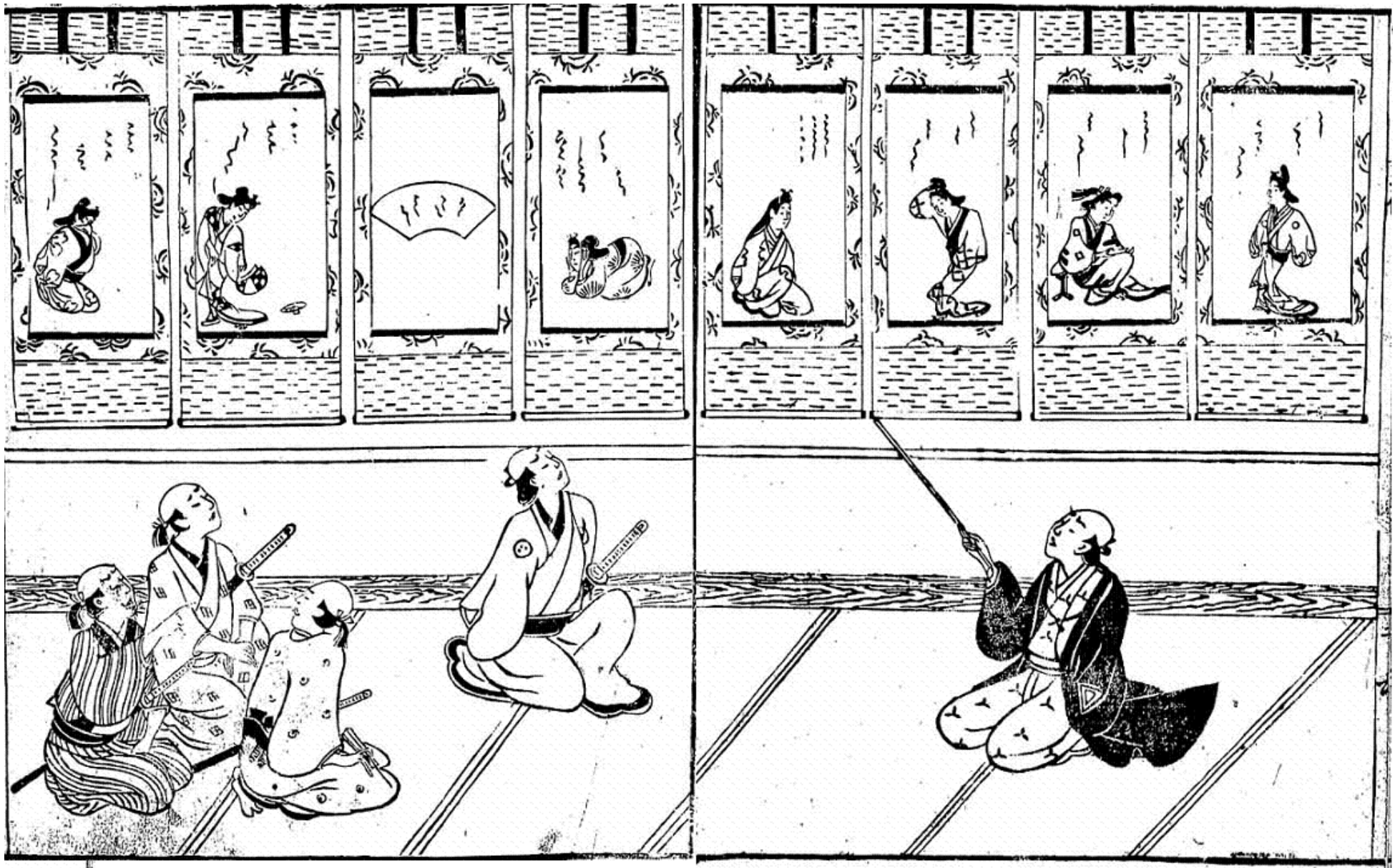


Fig. 69. Ihara Saikaku, Gallery of Beauties, illustration to *Kōshoku nidai otoko shoen ōkagami* ('Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man'), 1684, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.



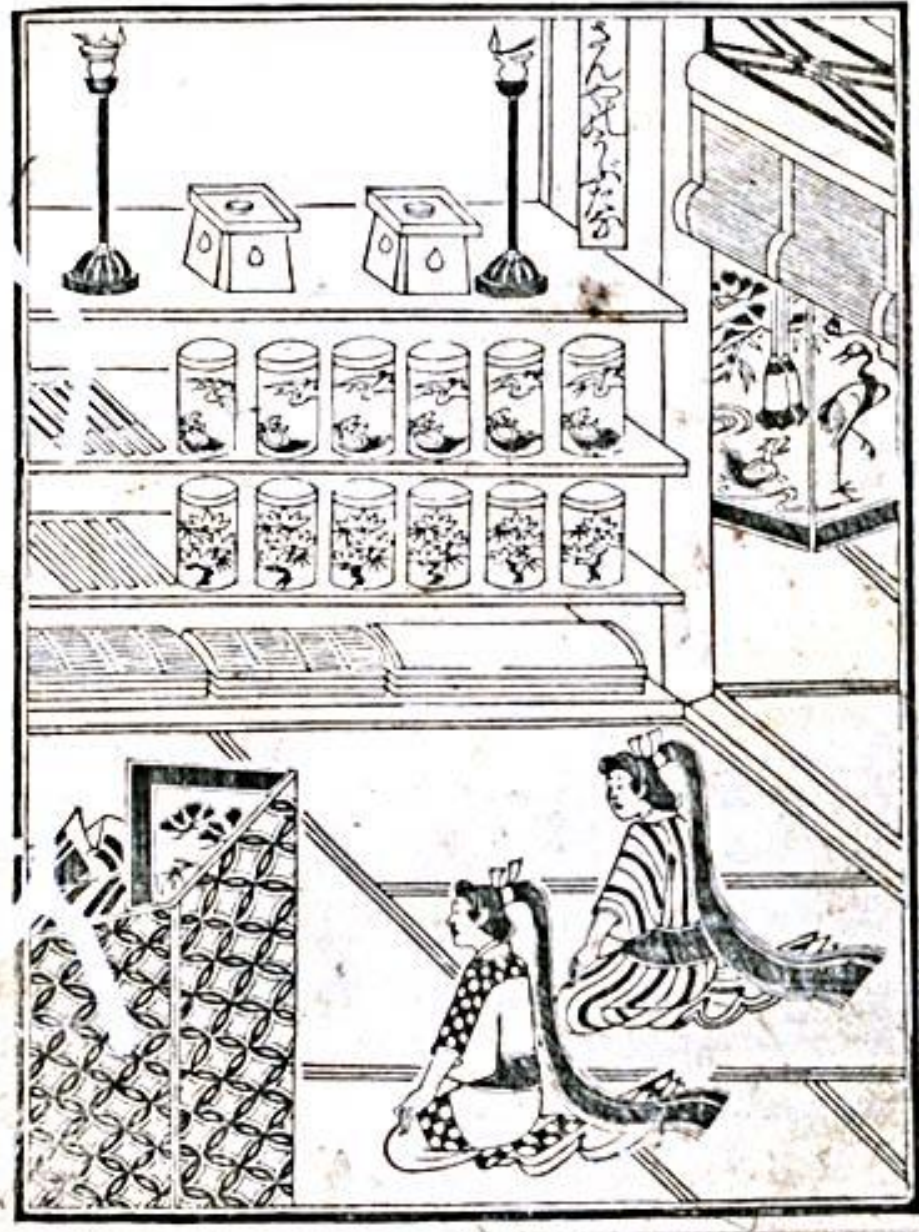


Fig. 70 *Onna Shorei Shū* ('Collection of Rules of Etiquette for Women'), 1660, volume 4, woodblock print, double spread, 26.5 by 37 cm, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.



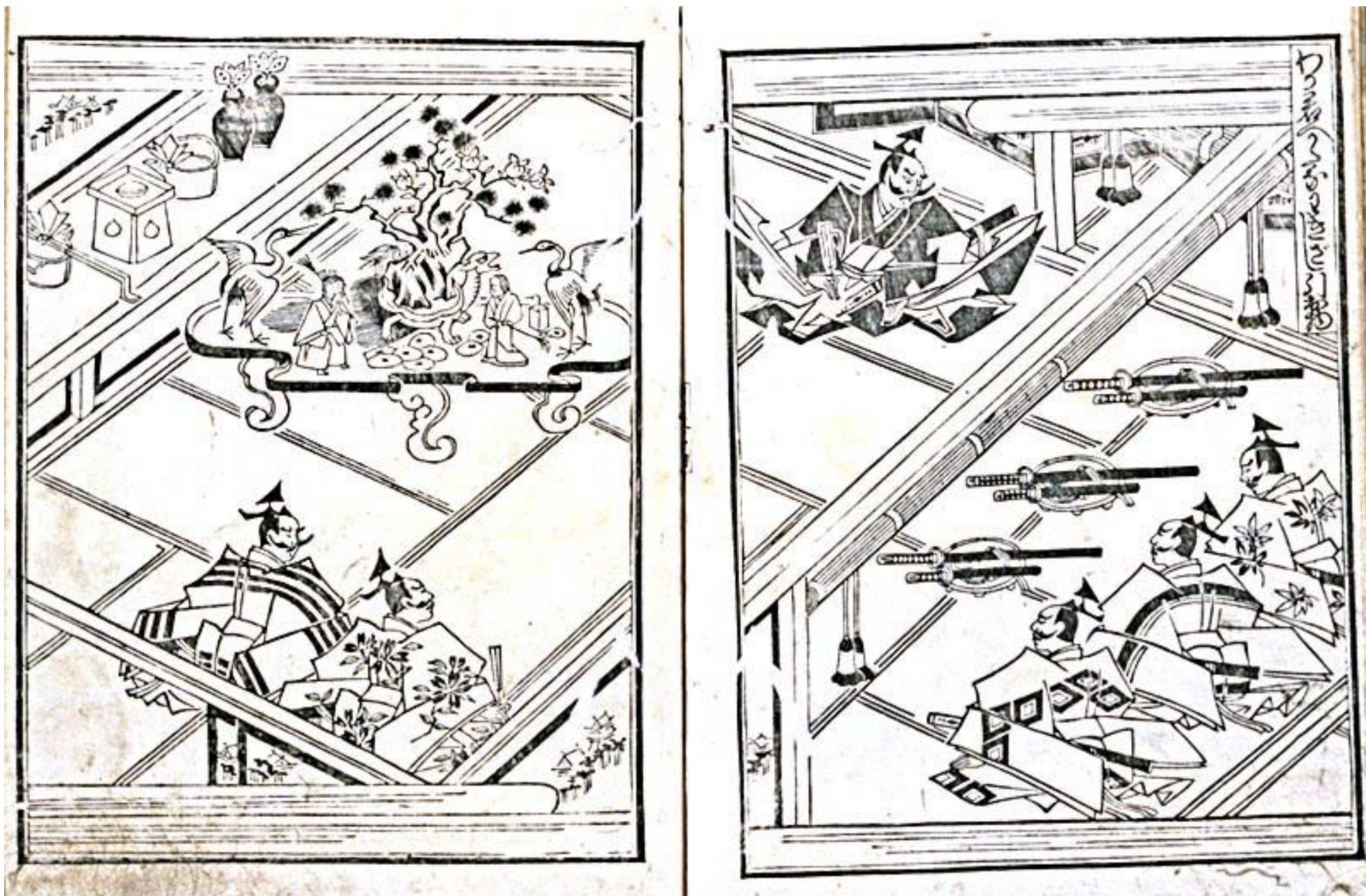


Fig. 71. *Onna Shorei Shū* ('Collection of Rules of Etiquette for Women'), 1660, volume 4, woodblock print, double spread, 26.5 by 37 cm, National Diet Library, Tōkyō.



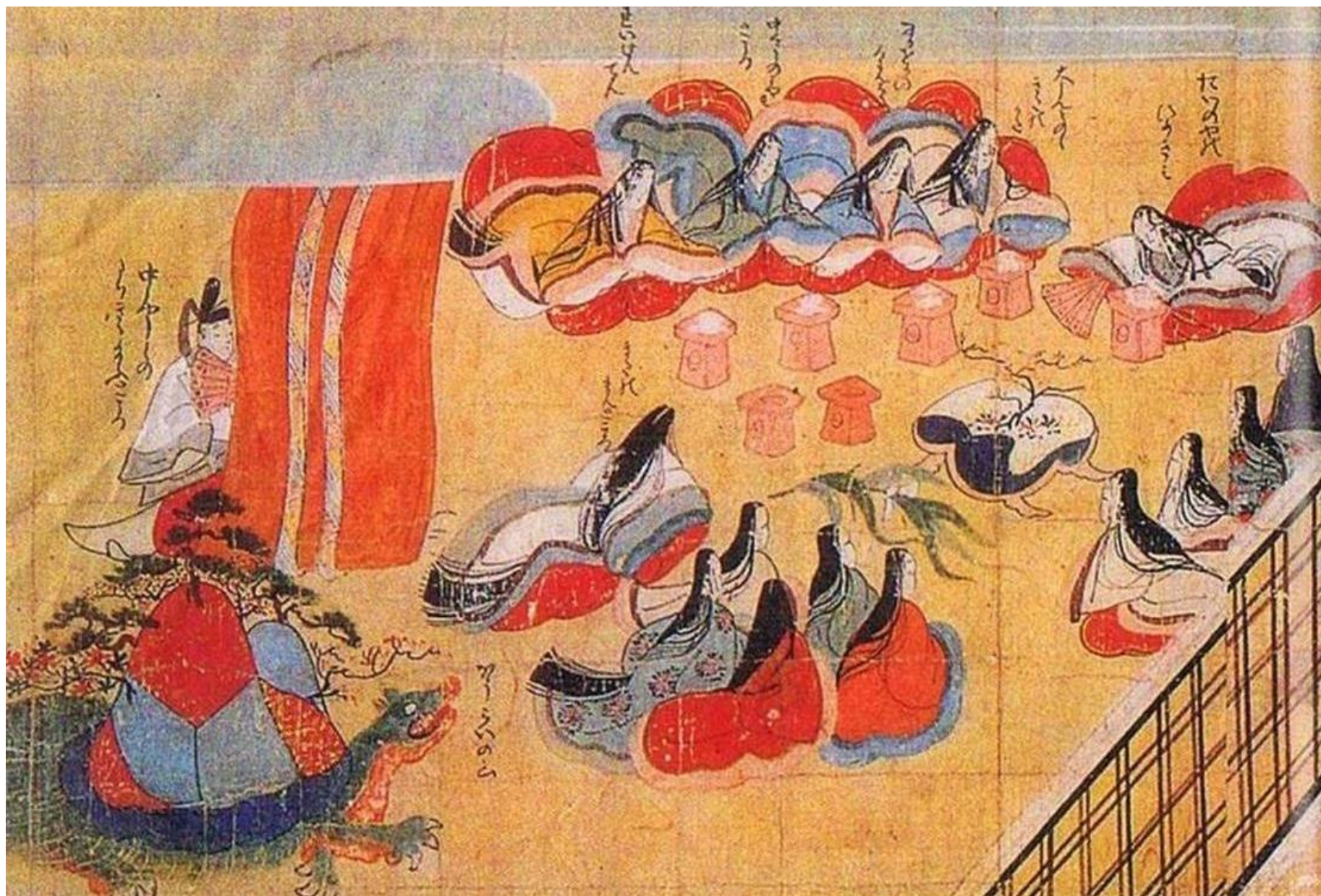


Fig. 72. Illustration of Mount Penglai set-up from *Iwaya Monogatari* ('Tale of Iwaya'), mid-seventeenth century, ink and colour on paper, handscroll, private collection.





Fig. 73. *Ise monogatari shikishi* ('Tales of Ise on Paper Cards'), mid-seventeenth century, ink and colour and gold on paper, 23.4 by 17 cm, Saiku Historical Museum, Mie Prefecture, Japan.





Fig. 74. Hishikawa Moronobu, Entertainment in a top brothel, from *Yoshiwara no Tei* ('Views of Yoshiwara'), early 1680s, hand-coloured woodblock print, 31.6 by 47 cm, MFA Boston.





Fig. 75.

Detail of fig. 76  
(upper right  
corner of right  
screen).





Fig. 76. Sōōji screens, 1620s-1640s, ink and colour on paper, pair of eight-fold screens, 126.1 by 407.8 cm each, detail of right half of right screen, Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya.



Fig. 77. Illustration to Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* ('Life of an Amorous Man'), volume 8, 1682, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.



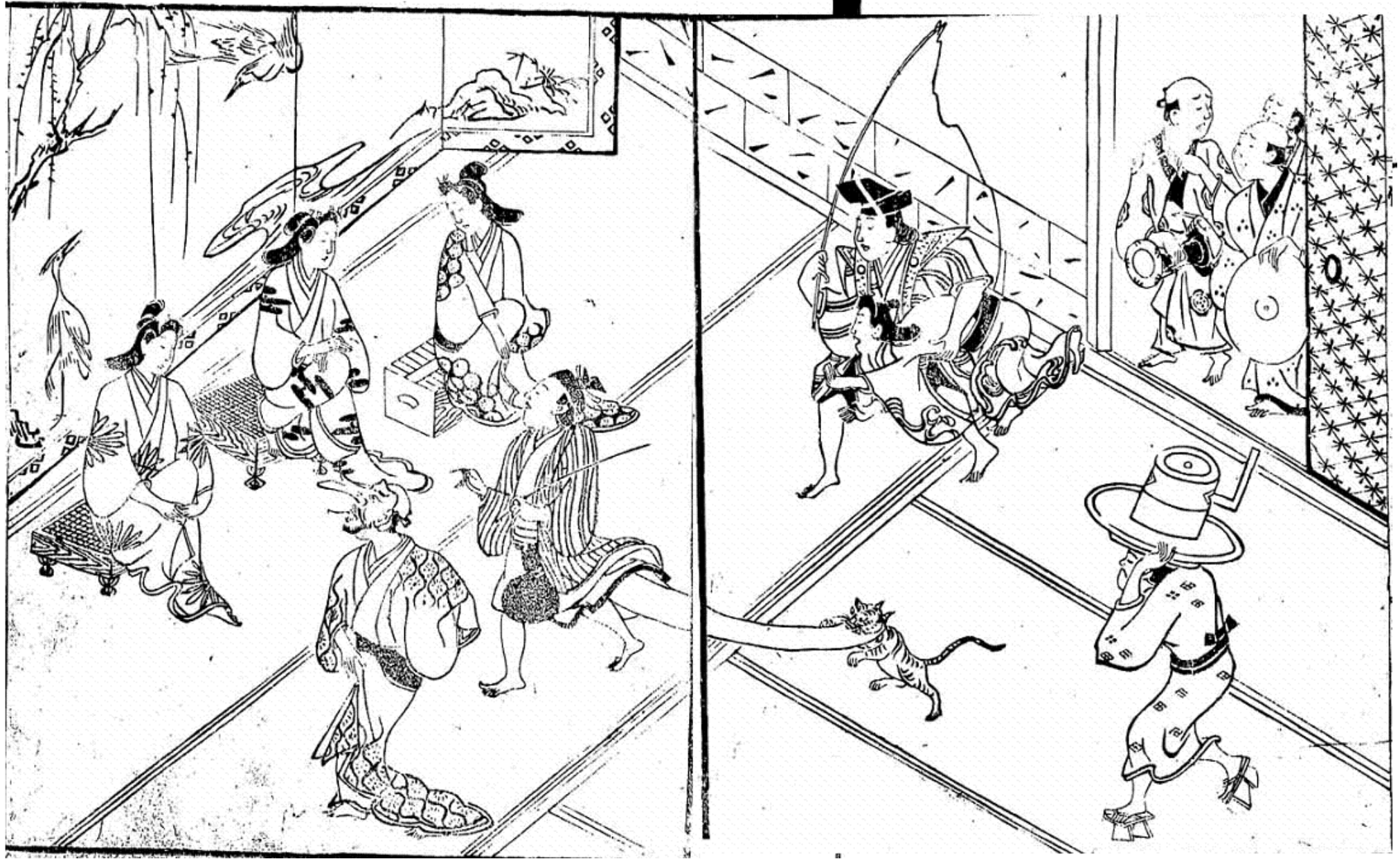


Fig. 78. Illustration to Ihara Saikaku, *Kōshoku nidai otoko shoen ōkagami* ('Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man'), 1684, woodblock print, Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.



Fig. 79. Page from *Shinsen on hiinagata* ('New Selection of Respected Patterns'), 1681, woodblock print, 23 cm high, Bunka Gakuen University Library, Tōkyō.





Fig. 80. Ihara Saikaku, *Futokoro suzuri* ('Pocket inkstone'), illustration to volume 3, woodblock print, 1687, Waseda University Library, Tōkyō.



新波西鶴



Fig. 81. Ihara Saikaku, Illustration to own poem from *Hyakunin ikku Naniwa shikishi* ('A Hundred Osaka Poets, One Poem Each on Paper Cards'), 1682, woodblock print, Tenri University Library, Tenri.



Fig. 82. Ihara Saikaku, illustration to *Kōmeishū* ('Collection of Lofty Names'), 1682, woodblock print, Tenri University Library, Tenri.